THE FRENCH INFLUENCE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH TO THE RESTORATION

BY

ALFRED HORATIO UPHAM

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University

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PREFACE

THIS essay was undertaken as an initial attempt at the task of investigating, verifying, grouping, and interpreting the influences of French life and letters upon the literature of England, beginning with the so-called Elizabethan period and extending through the years prior to the Stuart Restoration. This is in no sense a new field of study, nor is there any disposition to regard this work as final. Much actual material has been found available, the results of various independent lines of investigation. Also available were numerous scattered suggestions of relationship and indebtedness, awaiting development and verification. Such data, drawn upon liberally and considered carefully in the progress of this study, can be conveniently acknowledged in detail only in foot-notes and bibliography. To these the reader is respectfully referred, with the understanding that to one and all of the painstaking pathbreakers there represented the author is abundantly grateful.

The plan and dominating purpose of this essay, with its recognition of social and literary kinships under Tudor and Stuart rule, are sufficiently indicated in the Introduction and the chapter-headings. As noted later, it is a plan that made itself as the investigation developed; and whatever its deficiencies, in the treatment of incidental indebtedness on the one side and in the massing of influences by chronological steps on the other, it seems to offer a natural and fairly adequate scheme for this particular set of literary relations. Obviously, considerable material of value for such a study has not found its way into the pages that follow. Criticism and addition are particularly invited in this respect. Interpretation and generalization, likewise, have not been carried so far as they might have been, had this been other than an initial venture. The interest has been rather in the security of the foundations laid than in the extent of the superstructure.

Most of the material utilized in these chapters has been drawn from the collections of the Columbia University Library, supplemented in particular by the Library of Harvard University and the Public Library at Cincinnati, Ohio.

To the officials of all these the author would express his obligation. The subject of the essay was suggested, and every step in its subsequent development has been carefully watched, by Professor Jefferson Butler Fletcher and Professor Joel Elias Spingarn, of the Department of Comparative Literature in Columbia University. Their kind and continual assistance has been a vital factor in the growth and completion of this work, making the acknowledgment of indebtedness to them no empty form, but an expression of the deepest sense of gratitude. Professor Edgar Ewing Brandon, of the Department of Romanic Languages, Miami University, has kindly read the various chapters in proof, and offered valuable suggestions.

A. H. U.

Oxford, Ohio, 1908.

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THE FRENCH INFLUENCE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

Introduction

It is a commonplace in the study of English literature that the fourteenth century and the period immediately following the Stuart Restoration are peculiarly marked by extended influence from the literature of France. Equally commonplace is the dictum that the literature which in the wider sense we call Elizabethan is dominated rather by an Italian inspiration, operating largely by direct impulse, but in part, this time, through the medium of the French. The manner in which France rendered her service as an agent in this Elizabethan transaction, the amount of original reaction and fresh impulse she imparted to what passed through her hands, the literary results in England for which she may be held individually responsible, are certainly deserving of serious attention. Especially is this the case, in view of the great mass of material bearing on such questions and in most instances easy of access. The period drawn upon for this study, though nominally extending from the accession of Elizabeth to the time of the Restoration, offers nothing of particular significance earlier than the partnership of literary interests and activities among Sidney and his friends, in the years 1579–1580. From that point the development of literature and the play of influence were rapid and significant enough.

The period as a whole was one marked by almost constant political relations between England and France, and for a considerable portion of it the great mass of English people watched with keenest interest every movement of their neighbors across the Channel, and devoured every scrap of information regarding French affairs. Elizabeth, from the moment of her accession, was confronted by the claims of Mary Stuart, wife of the dauphin of France, backed by the Catholic adherents in both realms. By the time the death of Francis left Mary a widow and sent her posting back to English soil, Elizabeth had committed herself to the policy of the French Huguenots and refused to take part in the Council of Trent. The religious struggle in France, held back for a time, at length broke forth in full vigor, with the beginning of Spanish depredations in the Netherlands; and every development promised to be pregnant with significance to the English people. Gradually Protestantism became synonymous with loyalty to the English throne, priests from Douay and Jesuit missionaries became objects of persecution, and all England hung eagerly upon the varying fortunes of the French Huguenots. Men and money from England aided Henry of Navarre in his extended struggle against the forces of Catholicism, to which faith he finally yielded to secure his throne.

After a short interim active relations with France began again, with negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles of England with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. The marriage once consummated, there followed a long train of domestic difficulties, encouraged by the prejudice of the queen's French advisers, and relieved at times by diplomatic visits from such men as Bassompierre. In 1627 England sent an ill-advised and disastrous expedition to the defense of the Protestant town of New Rochelle. This was distinctly at variance with the general policy of Charles, however, which turned emphatically toward Catholicism, and was thus friendly to the French crown. Finally, it was France that received the widowed queen of Charles I. and the bevy of faithful courtiers who attended her in exile.

While this history was unfolding, various men of importance from each country visited the other, frequently on business of state, and sometimes prolonged their stay and broadened their acquaintance. The extended residence of the Scotch Humanist Buchanan in France, as student and as teacher, preceded Elizabeth's accession by only a few years. Such Scotchmen as William Barclay and James Crichton accompanied Mary Stuart into France. The young Sidney was present at the French court, a friend of Henry of Navarre and an acquaintance of Ronsard; he was an eye-witness of the Saint Bartholomew Massacre, and began abroad his line of friendship and intercourse with the French Protestants. Sir Thomas Smith had a long experience in France as ambassador of Elizabeth. Ben Jonson accompanied his young ward, the son of Sir Walter Raleigh. The Earl of Essex led the English troops sent by Elizabeth to the assistance of Henry IV. Bacon visited France in the suite of the diplomat Amyas Paulet. Hundreds of Catholic refugees were driven across the Channel as the Protestantism of England was intensified. As time went on, the continental tour — especially to France — became more of a necessity in the training of England's young nobility. Then came the regicide in 1649, and nobility of all ages flocked to French shores.[1] At least two Englishmen of note gave literary form to their views regarding France, — James Howell, in his *Letters* and his *Instructions for*

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[1] Details of English-French intercourse are collected by J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime*, London, 1899; E. J. B. Rathery, "Des Relations sociales et intellectuelles entre la France et l'Angleterre," in *Revue contemporaine*, xx–xxiii; and Jos. Texte, *J. J. Rousseau et le cosmopolitisme littéraire*, Paris, 1895.

forreine travell, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his autobiography.

The names of those Frenchmen who visited England throughout the period form even a more imposing array; although, with a few exceptions, they seem to have made little more impression upon England than the English did upon them. Ronsard spent about three years in Scotland and England. Du Bartas, on a diplomatic visit to Scotland, so won the heart of James VI. that the royal host was loath to permit his return. Jacques Grévin appeared twice at the court of Elizabeth, as did also Brantôme, who found little enough in his sojourn worth recalling. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Montchrestien visited England while in exile, and after him came Boisrobert, Voiture, Saint-Amant, Théophile de Viau, and Saint-Evremond. And yet, years after the Restoration, the language and literature of England were looked upon by France as crude and in many respects barbarous.

The period affords several notable examples of correspondence carried on between leading spirits of the two countries, — not the least being that of Queen Elizabeth with Henry IV. Scholars especially engaged in this practice. Sidney corresponded freely with Hubert Languet, Henri Estienne, Hotman, Pibrac, and Duplessis-Mornay. William Camden exchanged letters with Hotman, De Thou, Peiresc, and the brothers Sainte-Marthe. The correspondence of De Thou and Peiresc included numerous other Englishmen, among them Cotton, Wotton, Barclay, and Selden.

In the reign of Elizabeth, as well as that of the Stuarts, ample evidence attests the wide knowledge of the French language, particularly among the educated classes of England, and likewise the familiarity of these people with French literature. Only a few years before Elizabeth's coronation, Nisander Nucius had testified: "Les Anglois se servent presque tous du langage françois."[1] During her reign Pasquier is authority for the statement that in all Germany, England, and Scotland there was no noble household that did not include a teacher of French.[2] Edward Blount, in his introduction to an edition of Lyly's comedies, 1632, described the vogue of Lyly's style at the court of Elizabeth by saying: "All our Ladies were then his Schollers; and that Beautie in Court which could not Parley Euphueisme was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French."

The drama itself, especially after the coming of Henrietta Maria, contains numerous references to the knowledge of French as a necessary courtly accomplishment. In Middleton's *More Dissemblers besides Women*, the fourth scene of the first act, appears the statement: "You've many daughters so well brought up, they speak French naturally at fifteen, and they are turned to the Spanish and Italian half a year later."

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[1] In his *Travels*, 1545. (Camden Soc. Publ., 1841, p. 13.)

[2] Quoted by Jos. Texte, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

In Davenant's *The Wits*, the Elder Pallatine says in the second act, regarding wealthy ladies: "If rich, you come to court, there learn to be at charge to teach your paraquetoes French." In *The Lady Mother*, by Glapthorne, the dictum is brief but absolute: "He's not a gent that cannot parlee."

Confirmatory evidence appears also in the information still remaining in regard to certain libraries of this period. The books accessible to the Princess Elizabeth herself and to Lady Jane Grey included a goodly proportion of French literature. Elizabeth the queen, it may be remembered, prepared a translation of the *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* by Margaret of Navarre. Naturally enough there appear to have been many French books in the library of Mary Stuart; and the young James VI. of Scotland grew up in an academic atmosphere in which the literature of France had an important part. Its effect on him will be seen in his own attempts with the pen, and in the encouragement he gave to various translators and imitators. Of greatest significance is the record still preserved of the books contained in 1611 in the library of William Drummond of Hawthornden, as well as his lists of reading done in the years 1607–1614.[1] In the library list there are 120 books in French, as against 61 Italian, 8 Spanish, 50 English, and 164 Latin. His reading certainly covered a wide range of material either originally French or known to him in French versions. In 1608, for example, he read: "Troisieme tome des Histoires Tragiques, Comedies de la Rive, L'Enfer d'Amour, Prince d'Orange, Exposition sur l'Apocalips, La Conformité du Langage Franç. avec le Grec, Les Ris de Democrite, Travaux sans Travaile, Erastus — en François, Les Antiquites de France, Dernier tome of De Serres, Le Seigneur Des Accords, Epistres de Pasquier, Histoire des Albigeois, La Curiosite de Du Plessi, La Fuile du Pechè, La Gazzette François," together with six volumes of the *Amadis de Gaul,* apparently in the French form. Only six other items are noted for the year, two of them Latin works written by Frenchmen. In 1609 his reading included: "Bartas, 13 Tome d'Amadis de Gaule, La Franciade de Ronsard, Rablais, Dictionnaire de Nicot, Roland Furieux — in Frenche, Azolains de Bembe — in Frenche, Amours de Ronsard, Monophile d'Estienne Pasquier, Les Poemes de Passerat, Hymnes de Ronsard, Les Odes de Ronsard, Elegies et Eglogues de Ronsard, Deux Tragedies de Jodelle, Recherches de Pasquier." Drummond was of course a thorough linguist and an omnivorous reader, who was comparatively fresh from a sojourn in France; but even at that his acquaintance with French books may be taken as fairly indicative of conditions prevailing in the educated circles of Scotland and England.

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[1] In *Archæologia Scotica*, iv. 73 *sq.*

That the English people were anxious to provide themselves with a knowledge of the French tongue, is clearly evidenced by the unfailing demand in that day for French grammars and dictionaries. The celebrated teacher of French, Claude Holyband (Saint-Lien), found a ready sale for edition after edition of his text-books, — *The French Littleton,* first issued in 1566, *The French Schoole-Maister,* beginning with 1573, and *A Dictionarie French and English,* 1593. *The French Alphabet,* by De la Mothe de Vayer, had a popularity that called forth numerous editions. Holyband's dictionary was superseded in 1611 by that of Cotgrave, which in turn went through several editions. That of 1650, directed by James Howell, was accompanied by an essay of his on the French language, which drew freely, without admitting obligation, upon the *Recherches* of Pasquier.[1] Howell addressed himself "to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain that are desirous to speak French for their pleasure and ornament, as also to all merchant adventurers as well English as . . . Dutch . . . to whom the said language is necessary for commerce and forren correspondence."[2]

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[1] Cf. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France,* pp. 21–22.

[2] The following list will afford some idea of the English demand for text-books dealing with the French language. Dates in brackets indicate time of entry in the *Stationers' Register:* —

1566. Claude Holyband, *The French Littleton.* Other eds., 1578, 1581, 1593, 1597, 1609, 1630, etc.
(1567) *A Dyxcionary ffrynshe and englessche.*
(1567) *Italion, ffrynsshe, englesshe and laten.*
(1570) *A boke of Copyes englesshe ffrenshe and Italyon.*
1573. Claude Holyband, *The French Schoole-Maister.* Other eds., 1582, 1612, 1615, 1619, 1636, 1641, 1649.
1575. *A plaine pathway to the French tongue.*

In France at this time it was the merchant adventurers alone who felt any desire whatever

(1578) George Bishop, Jr., *Dictionaire colloques ou dialogues en quattre langues.*
1578. James Bellot, *The French Grammar.*
1580. John Baret, *Quadruple Dictionarie or Alvearie, containing . . . English, Latin, Greeke, and French.*
1580. Claude Holyband, *The Treasurie of the French tong.*
1583. Claude Holyband, *The Flourie Field of Foure languages.*
(1584) *A Dictionarie in Frenche and Englishe.*
(1591) Mat. Corderius, *Dialogues* (French and English).
1593. Claude Holyband, *A Dictionarie French and English.*
1595. G. de la Mothe de Vayer, *The French Alphabet.* Other eds., 1633, 1639, 1647.
1605. Peter Erondel, *The French Garden. . . . Being an instruction for the attayning unto the knowledge of the French tongue.*
1611. Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues.* Other eds., 1632, 1650.
(1615) *The French A. B. C.*
(1615) *A Book of Copies in English French and Italian.*
(1615) *The Declineing of Ffrench Verbs.*
(1617) Jean Barbier, *Janua Linguarum Quadrilinguis.*
(1623) *A short method for the declyning of Ffrench Verbs.*
1623. John Wodrœphe, *The Marrowe of the French Tongue.* Another ed., 1652.
(1625) Robt. Sherwood, *The French Tutour.* Another ed., 1634.
1633–4 Wye Saltonstall, *Clavis ad Portam . . . Wherein you may readily find the Latin and French for any English Word.* Oxon.
1634. Charles Maupas, *A French Grammar and Syntaxe.*
(1635) Paul Cougneau, *A sure guide to the French tongue.*
(1636) *The English, Latyn, French, and Dutch Schoolemaster.*
1636. Gabriel Du Grès, *Grammaticæ Gallicæ Compendium.* Cantab.
1639. Gabriel Du Grès, *Dialogi Gallico-Anglico-Latini.* Oxon. Other eds., 1652, 1660.
1639. *New Dialogues or Colloquies, and a Little Dictionary of eight Languages.*

to acquire the English tongue; and the only handbooks of English known across the Channel were small compendiums of phrases and dialogues necessary for commercial intercourse.

Of course there were great masses of the English people who never learned French. But ample provision was certainly made for them in a great abundance of translations into English, printed and circulated throughout the period.[1] Almost every type of literature, or of printed matter in general, produced in France for a century prior to the Restoration, found its way into an English version, and often the transformation was accomplished with great rapidity. As already noted, much of the time was marked by bitter conflict between the French Huguenots and the Catholic League, accompanied by continued military operations in the Low Countries. In all of this the Protestants of England felt the most vital interest. The result was that for many years there was a constant stream of news-letters, royal edicts, treaties, controversial pamphlets, and the like, being turned from their original French form into English and sold in great numbers to the populace of London. In fact, one might actually trace French history, in accurate detail, from the catalogue of English translations.

The greatest documents of the Protestant faith

1641. Claude Holyband, *A Treatise for Declining of Verbs.*
1656. Thos. Blount, *Glossographia.*

[1] Cf. appendix A.

— sermons, commentaries, and argumentative treatises — were in great demand in English versions, and the most familiar piece of literature in England for a time was Joshua Sylvester's translation of the French epic of Protestantism, the *Semaines* of Du Bartas. In the first three decades of Elizabeth's reign more than twenty separate translations from John Calvin were offered to the English public. During the years that followed, an almost equal popularity was extended to the writings of Pierre Viret, Théodore de Bèze, John de l'Espine, Odet de la Noue, Duplessis-Mornay, and Pierre du Moulin. It remains to be noted how far the religious impulse from this literature affected the creative product of England.

In the field of secular literature, most of the French material of excellence and significance was turned into English form without much delay. Thus plays by Garnier, written 1574 and 1578, were in English by 1592 and 1594; Montaigne's *Essais*, completed in 1588, were on the *Stationers' Register* by 1595; Estienne's *Apologie pour Hérodote* waited from 1566 to 1599 for an English rendering, and the *Quatrains* of Pibrac (1574) were in English by 1605. The *Heptaméron* and the work of Rabelais waited still longer for translation, the first from 1559 to 1597, and the second from 1552 until at least 1594, and much more probably until 1663. In the seventeenth century translations appeared more promptly. The *Astrée* and Barclay's *Argenis* were both in English four years after their first appearance. The *Cid* experienced almost no delay at all. Such romances as La Calprenède's *Cassandra* and *Cléopâtre*, and Scudéry's *Artamène* began to appear in English garb about as soon as they were completed in French. The first collection of Balzac's *Letters* was published in French in 1624, in English in 1638. Sorel's *Francion* waited from 1622 to 1655; his *Berger Extravagant*, from 1627 to 1654. *Les Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal, however, were completed in French and published in English the same year.

It is significant to note that during this time many important literary products, originally in other foreign languages, came into English through the medium of French versions, which served as the basis for translators. In this group appear North's rendering of Plutarch, based on the French of Amyot, and the English *Amadis de Gaul*, drawn from the French of Herberay des Essarts. The *Iliad*, the *Politics* of Aristotle, and the works of Seneca appear to have had a similar experience. The *Celestina*, Guevara's *Golden Epistles*, and Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* all claim an immediate French source for their English version, as do also a series of Spanish romances made English by Anthony Munday.

The list of translations also includes a body of miscellaneous material — some distinctly French, some as definitely alien — all testifying to the freedom with which England was then turning to France for books of every sort.

There are handbooks of manners and accomplishments, travel tales, manuals of correspondence, medical treatises, books on gardening, and numerous scientific documents, filling out a catalogue that forms a worthy commentary on Anglo-French relations.

There is apparently no end to references in the literature of the time commenting on the English fondness for imitation of the French, particularly in such externals as fashions of clothing, bearing, manners, and the like, — the peculiar delights of the returned traveler. The drama naturally displays such material in greatest abundance, but it appears also in non-dramatic literature throughout almost the entire period. Some specimens may be cited.

Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas promptly adapted, shortly after 1600, a caustic reference to French peculiarities that had appeared in the Second Day of the *Première Semaine:* —

"Much like the French (or like ourselves, their Apes)
Who with strange habit so disguise their shapes:
Who loving Novels, full of affectation,
Receive the Manners of each other Nation;
And scarcely shift they shirts so oft, as change
Fantastick Fashions of their garments strange."[1]

Bishop Hall's *Vergidemiarum* contains two satires explicitly directed at the Frenchified Englishman;[2] and Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*, published a little later, notes the

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[1] Sylvester, *Works*, ed. 1641, p. 11.
[2] Satires 1 and 7, book iii.

French and Italian trappings of "An Affectate Traveller." A specific instance of the importation of French customs into English society appears in a complaint concerning Lord Hay, just returned from service as ambassador to France.[1] Some interesting detail is added in the *Calendar of State Papers* belonging to the period.[2] In an epigram, "On English Mounsieur," attributed to Ben Jonson, a sound rating is administered to the pretentious imitator who has not even traveled.

"Would you beleeve, when you this mounsieur see
That his whole body should speake French, not he?
That so much skarfe of France and hat, and fether,
And shooe, and tye, and garter should come hether,
And land on one, whose face durst never be
Toward the sea, farther than halfe-way tree?
That he, untravell'd should be French so much,
As French-men in his company should seem Dutch?
Or had his father, when he did him get,
The French disease, with which he labours yet?
Or hung some mounsieur's picture on the wall,
By which his damme conceiv'd him clothes and all?
Or is it some French statue? No: 't doth move,
And stoope, and cringe. O then, it needs must prove
The new French-taylors motion, monthly made,
Daily to turne in Paul's, and helpe the trade."[3]

This epigram had foundation enough to keep it popular for some time. It appears again, in condensed form and without acknowledgment, as Epigram 562 in *Wits Recreations*, 1640, where it has the title "On an English Ape." This same publication contained another specimen even more virulent: —

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[1] Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, iii. 184, 246.

[2] *Cal. of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic,* xii. pt. 2, nos. 685, 686, 711.

[3] Chalmers, *English Poets,* v. 506.

ON THE FRENCH ENGLISH APE

"Mark him once more, and tell me if you can
Look, and not laugh, on yonder Gentleman.
Could I but work a transformation strange
On him whose pride doth swell and rankle so,
I would his carrion to a thistle change,
Which asses feed on, and which rusticks mow."[1]

To the same period belongs a satire "On a Frenchified traveller," by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. It is more to be expected, however, that satire with this same point should appear after the Restoration, as in Samuel Butler's poem, "On our Ridiculous Imitation of the French."

As previously suggested, the drama is the logical source of information regarding the influence of France in the life and customs of the English people. Such information is of course liable to the charge of bias and exaggeration; it certainly makes free with the element of ridicule. But there is so much of it, weaving France so definitely and emphatically into the fabric of English dramatic literature, that it must be given serious place in this discussion.

There is a very considerable borrowing made by numerous English plays from the field of actual French literature.[2] More extensive and

[1] Cf. *Facetiæ*, ii. 455.

[2] Cf. chaps. ii and viii.

important, however, is the employment of French history, often contemporary, as a basis for English dramatic products.[1] Shakespeare utilizes such history incidentally, when it is involved with the English history he is representing. Early dramatic records mention a play, *The Tragedy of the Guise*, which is later listed as the *Massacre of France*. Webster speaks of a play by the former name among his own works.[2] There is also record of a three-part play by Dekker and Drayton, *The Civil Wars in France*, and another, with several authors, under the name, *The Unfortunate General — The French History*.[3] Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* is familiar enough, as are also Chapman's four tragedies concerning Bussy d'Ambois and Charles, Duke of Biron. There is evidence that in 1617 an English play dealing with the death of the Marshal d'Ancre was kept from the stage by the Privy Council.[4] Later came such plays as Chapman and Shirley's *Tragedy of Philip Chabot, Admiral of France*, and Heminge's *Fatal Contrast*. In many dramas where the facts of history are in no way involved in the plot, there appear incidental references, in a familiar way, to historical matters. For example, Bellamont, in Dekker's *Northward Hoe*, tells the captain he is preparing a tragedy to be presented by gallants in the French court at the marriage festivities of the Duke of Orleans and those of Chatilion, Admiral of France.

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[1] F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama 1558–1642*, devotes a chapter to this drama on French history, treating it as a distinct species.

[2] Cf. dedication to *The Devil's Law Case*.

[3] Henslowe's *Diary* is the source of these details.

[4] Cf. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, i. 408; also Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, iii. 234.

There is almost no end to the plays where French scenes or French characters are introduced, sometimes without a trace of national peculiarity or local color, in other cases purely for the effect obtained by such peculiarities. The fact that Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well,* for instance, has its scenes laid in France and deals with French characters gives no tone of French individuality to any portion of the play. The same thing is true of such dramas as Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Elder Brother,* Fletcher's *The Noble Gentleman,* and Massinger's *The Unnatural Combat.* Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth,* on the other hand, not only locates its scenes in Paris, but portrays there the gay licentious life conventionally associated in many English minds with Frenchmen. Single French characters in the drama are usually caricatures, introduced for a comic effect. The traveled fop Laverdure, in Marston's *What You Will,* is a good specimen of this sort. At other times, indeed, the chief purpose of these characters seems to be to win a laugh from the groundlings by their broken English. This is often the case with men of certain callings, such as tailors, dancing-masters, or doctors, conventionally represented as Frenchmen.

The London populace was always ready to detect and despise affectation in those who boasted of superiority. It was also possessed of a deep-rooted *bourgeois* hostility to foreigners and to foreign customs, especially when these latter were assumed unnaturally. It is not surprising then that dramatic literature in old England teems with biting references to Frenchified Englishmen who have traveled or pretend to have done so; and to those various personal peculiarities which were conventionally cited and recognized as Gallic. A considerable company of these travelers with French airs could be mustered, including Beaumont and Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Puntarvolo, in *Every Man out of his Humour*, Thorello, in Davenant's *The Fair Favorite*, and young Matchil, in Brome's *The New Academy*. Lovel, in Jonson's *The New Inn*, like Shakespeare's Jacques, appears to have sucked melancholy out of his French journeying.

The traits and peculiarities characterized as French in the later Elizabethan drama afford a very substantial idea of what this overcritical theater-going public professed to find in their Gallic neighbors. Bravery, of a kind, they did concede, but it was the bravery of the moment, which accompanied hot blood and a fiery temper. The "French brawl" is a thing often mentioned. This heated blood and eager haste of the Frenchmen was supposed to make them particularly ardent in love, and to lead them easily into lustful indulgences. This notion gained emphasis from the fact that venereal disease, so frequently the object of comment in the dramas, was regularly referred to France for its origin. Treachery and deception were constantly attributed to Frenchmen. Thus Gazetto, in Dekker's *Match me in London,* explaining the use he makes of languages, declares, "If I betray, I'm French." In Ford's *Love's Sacrifice,* Fernando goes into the matter at greater length: —

"The French are passing courtly, ripe of wit,
Kind, but extreme dissemblers; you shall have
A Frenchman ducking lower than your knee,
At th' instant mocking even your very shoe-ties."[1]

Drinking and profanity were represented as dear to the French heart. "The French affects the Orleans grape," as Heywood puts it.[2] In one of the familiar lists of national characteristics, Ophioneus declares in Chapman's *Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey,* "Thou shalt . . . drink with the Dutchman, swear with the Frenchman, cheat with the Englishman, brag with the Scot, and turn all this to religion."[3]

The detailed formalities of courtly politeness had come to France and in great part to England out of Italy. The fact remains that the dramatists persisted in associating many of these with France, and ascribing them to French gallants. French shrugs, cringes, crouches, and courtesies are always confronting the reader of plays. From courtly wooing to courtly quarreling, the Frenchman's manners are everywhere regarded as the standard of polite intercourse, while his dancing is above reproach. In Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, when Mercury in disguise contends in a duel of courtly compliment, he poses as a Frenchman and is characterized as "this Monsieur, or French-behav'd gentleman here." In Shirley's *The Witty Fair One*, the tutor delivers another international listing, thus: "Are not Italian heads, Spanish shoulders, Dutch bellies, and French legs, the only notions of your reformed English gentlemen?"[1]

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[1] Act i, scene 1.
[2] Song in *A Challenge for Beauty.*
[3] Act iii, scene 1.

On one point there was complete agreement, — the importance of France as a source of fashions in clothing. The frequent appearance of the French tailor has been already noted. The extent to which Englishmen were supposed to imitate the French garb is well expressed in *Eastward Hoe*. In the first scene of the fourth act, Petronel and Seagull think they have been cast on the coast of France, when they are really on the bank of the Thames. Petronel exclaims: —

> "See, here comes a couple of French gentlemen: I knew we were in France: dost thou think our Englishmen are so Frenchified, that a man knows not whether he be in France or in England, when he sees 'hem?"

There is an endless array of references to various garments as "French" — French doublets, French girdles, French ruffs, and especially

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[1] Act ii, scene 1.

French hoods. French velvet, also, was a term much in use.

Mention has been made of the general recognition, in drama and other forms of English literature, of the knowledge of the French language as essential to an accomplished Englishman. Much of the French tongue, either in extended conversations or in scattered phrases, appears throughout the plays of the time. Most of this is in connection with French scenes and characters such as those already discussed. But even apart from these, French phrases repeatedly occur at unexpected points and for very trivial reasons. There are also numerous miscellaneous references to France and the French, — their habits of eating, their products, their coin. The task of cataloguing all such references in the literature of the period would be almost interminable.

For an era of English literature in which the hegemony is really Italian, the French influences operative in an external way about this Elizabethan period are varied and of great abundance. Not all of them, it is true, can be thought of as favorable to literary production or in any way affecting it. Obvious enough, however, are such facts as these. England throughout this period was frankly conscious of the existence of her French neighbors, and thoroughly awake to what they thought and wrote and did. The ideals and habits, and even the mannerisms, of France were conventionally familiar to the London populace, and were often imitated —

all too often, if we accept testimony from the dramas — by those who enjoyed or thought to enjoy social distinction. The products of French literature found their way, with a fair degree of rapidity, to English shores; and while the educated classes read them in the original, translators busied themselves with English versions for the general public. In such circumstances, whatever of her own France had to impart had ample opportunity to exercise its influence upon English letters.

The following chapters are concerned with the lines of influence that apparently resulted from such contact. The method of approach may often appear to be of an objective, almost mechanical, character; too often, indeed, it lapses into a manipulation of parallels in thought and phrasing. But the aim throughout has been to construct as substantial a material foundation as possible, at the expense of minimizing, so far as this study goes, the abstract generalizations which logically should rest upon such a basis.

In the literary ideals and experiments of Sidney and his friends — the "Areopagus" group — there were various factors operative which palpably suggest French influence. Two important types of literature much practiced by the later representatives of this circle — the sonnet and the long religious poem — had been particularly popular with the French of a few years before. Extended comparison reveals many indications of actual indebtedness, especially to the work of Du Bartas. By this time the speculative utterances of Montaigne had found their way into England, affecting the external form of the Elizabethan essay, as well as providing a storehouse of opinions and learned citations for all who cared to use them. The appeal of Rabelais, as it came to be felt in England, was largely to the Bohemians of literature, and his influence was principally stylistic.

A fresh wave of French impulse came with the accession and marriage of Charles I., when French *préciosité* and French Platonizing, despite national protest, gained a considerable hold upon English court society. Mere foibles of the elect these ideals may have been, but they carried with them immense influence for literature, and made possible the transfer of French literary fashions with an ease unknown since the fourteenth century. The spirit of the seventeenth-century romance entered English literature. It colored drama and poetic narrative and called forth imitations in its own type. The coterie system of society, while it made no great impression upon England, attained power enough to influence the introduction of *vers de société* and literary correspondence. Even the tendency to burlesque, then prevalent enough in France, reached English shores before the return of the Stuart family threw open the portals to the full impulse of French standards of taste and execution.

CHAPTER II

THE AREOPAGUS GROUP

To the student of Elizabethan literature there comes, before a great while, the realization that a considerable portion of the literary output of the last two decades of the sixteenth and first decade of the seventeenth centuries was produced by a small group of literary friends and co-workers, and was colored, as a matter of course, by the ideals that dominated there. At the beginning, the friends thus associated appear to have been Gabriel Harvey, Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Edward Dyer, and probably Fulke Greville. A little later Samuel Daniel and Abraham Fraunce were admitted. Then came the romantic death of Sidney; and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, who felt the obligation of completing his literary undertakings, seems also to have recognized a responsibility to these associates of his, to whom she was already no stranger. Soon she became even better known as a patroness of literature than as a literary artist, and encouraged those who remained of the earlier circle, as well as some whom she herself received, to carry out those ideas which had taken shape during her brother's lifetime. Prominent among the men who enjoyed Lady Pembroke's patronage were also Nicholas Breton, John Davies of Hereford, and probably Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling.

The earliest intimation concerning this union of choice spirits is afforded by the series of letters exchanged, 1579–1580, between Gabriel Harvey, then at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and his "loving friend," Edmund Spenser, who wrote from Leicester House, London, where he was in the employ of Sidney's uncle.[1] Among other things, these letters represent Sidney, Dyer, and Spenser as fellow-members of a society, the Areopagus, from which Harvey was at least not excluded. In a letter dated October 5 (16?), 1579, Spenser says:—

> "As for the twoo worthy gentlemen Master Sidney and Master Dyer, they have me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity; of whom and to whome what speache passeth for youre credite and estimation I leave your selfe to conceive, having alwayes so well conceived of my unfained affection and zeale towardes you. And nowe they have proclaimed in their ἀρειωπάγῳ a general surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and also of the verie best to; in steade whereof, they have, by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables for English Verse; having had thereof already great practice and drawen me to their fashion. . . . I am of late more in love wyth my English versifying than with Ryming; whych I should have done long since if I would then have followed your councell."

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[1] The Harvey-Spenser Letters appear in vol. i. of Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart (Huth Library), London, 1884. Some also appear in Harvey's *Letter Book*, ed. E. J. L. Scott (Camden Soc. Publ.), 1884.

Before dispatching this letter, Spenser received one from Harvey, enclosing a specimen of classic metre in English. Acknowledging this, he says, "I perceive you otherwhiles continue your old exercise of Versifying in English, whych glorie I had now thought shoulde have bene onely ours heere at London and the court." [1]

Harvey's reply, dated October 23, 1579, includes the statement: —

> "Your new-founded ἄρειονπαγον I honoure more, than you will or can suppose: and make greater accompte of the twoo worthy gentlemenne, than of the two hundreth *Dionisii Areopagitæ*, or the verye notablest senatours that ever Athens dydde affourde of that number." [2]

In April, 1580, Harvey declares: —

> "I cannot choose, but thanke and honour the good Aungell, whether it were Gabriell or some other that put so good a notion into the heads of those two excellent Gentlemen M. Sidney and M. Dyer, the two very Diamonds of Hir Majesties Courte for many speciall and rare qualities: as to helpe forwarde our new famous enterprise for the Exchanging of Barbarous and Balductum Rymes with Artificial Verses." [3]

All that Spenser states and all that Harvey believes about the Areopagus, as far as these letters go, is that it is an association of Sidney, Dyer, and Spenser, to experiment with classic metres in English verse, a thing which Harvey has long advocated, but which now gets its impulse from another.[1] But there is ample ground for speculation as to whether these were the actual limits of the Areopagus; or — to put it more broadly — whether the little coterie of critical thinkers and creative artists there brought together, whatever the specified purpose of their nominal organization, did not rather feel called upon to formulate for England a general system of critical theory and try the farthest literary possibilities of their vernacular. There is no question that their relationship was more vital than these letters have implied, and was strengthened with the passing years. Likewise there may be shown a unity of purpose, expressed and exemplified by each in his peculiar way, and giving form to the activity of the circle far into its later history.

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[1] Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 7 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 75.

The friendship of the noble Sidney and the dependent Spenser is a commonplace of literary study. The Harvey-Spenser letters not only show that Spenser was then quartered in the household of Sidney's uncle, and expecting to be sent abroad on business for him.[1] They fairly teem with references to the friendly intercourse of Spenser with both Sidney and Dyer. *The Shepheardes Calendar*, published in 1579, was dedicated to Sidney, "the noble and vertuous Gentleman, most worthy of all titles both of learning and chevalrie." Spenser's *Stemmata Dudleiana*, often mentioned in his letters, was of course to celebrate the glories of his patron Leicester's family, and incidentally to contain many compliments to Sidney. More lavish still was the commendation as time went on. Sidney was presumably the brave courtier in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, and figured conspicuously in the allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. The *Astrophel* and the *Ruines of Time* were written to mourn his untimely fate and celebrate his virtues. Further evidence of Spenser's regard appears in the tributes he paid to Sidney's bereaved sister. Besides introducing her in his *Colin Clout*[2] and *Astrophel*,[3] he attached to the *Faerie Queene* a sonnet in her honor, and dedicated the *Ruines of Time* to her, "as to one whome it most speciallie concerneth, and to whome I acknowledge myselfe bounden by manie singular favours and great graces." In both sonnet and prose dedication Spenser recalls the service rendered him by Sidney as patron of his youthful muse.

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[1] *Infra*, p. 72. Harvey's idea of the limits of this circle may be drawn from the postscript to his "Earthquake" letter, written just before the one last quoted. "This Letter," he says, "may only be shewed to the two odde Gentlemen you wot of. Marry I would have those two to see it, as sone as you may conveniently.

Non Multis dormio: non multis scribo; non cupio placere multis.
Alii alios numeros laudant, præferunt, venerantur;
Ego fere apud nos, fere apud vos Trinitatem."

Wks., ed. cit., i. 74.

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[1] Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 17. A still earlier connection of Spenser with Sidney and Leicester is suggested by P. M. Buck, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1906, p. 80.

[2] ll. 486 *sq.*

[3] Cf. the "doleful lay" composed by Sidney's sister "Clorinda," "the gentlest shepherdess that lives this day."

Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville certainly shared in this intimacy, though the latter is not mentioned in the Harvey-Spenser letters, and seems to have been the particular friend of the Sidneys. When Spenser, in 1580, published Harvey's "Verlayes" without that worthy's knowledge, he dedicated the work to the "right worshipful gentleman and famous courtier, Master Edward Dyer, in a manner our only English poet."[1] Greville was the devoted companion and admirer of Sidney from boyhood, and compiled a panegyric biography of him. Indeed, among the virtues recorded on Greville's tombstone was the fact that he was "Frend to Sir Philip Sidney." As will be seen, he acknowledged the prompting of Sidney in his literary undertakings.[2] Among Sidney's works appears a poem "Upon his meeting with his two worthy Friends and fellow-Poets, Sir Edward Dier and Master Fulke Greville"; and by his will his books were to be divided between these same two gentlemen.

Harvey, being somewhat older than Sidney and Spenser and lacking their creative fervor, seems rather to have had an advisory capacity, as a representative of the English Humanistic tradition. His intimacy was none the less genuine. The correspondence shows Spenser constantly asking and receiving advice from

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[1] Quoted in Spenser's *Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 71.

[2] *Infra*, p. 83.

Harvey regarding literary ventures. Fortunately he did not always follow it. Prefixed to the *Shepheardes Calendar* was a letter to Harvey by the editor, E. K. It begins: "To the most excellent and learned, both Orator and Poet, master Gabriel Harvey, his verie speciall and singular good friend E. K. commendeth the good lyking of this his good labour, and the patronage of the new Poet."[1] In fact E. K. attributes to Harvey the rôle of Hobbinoll in the *Calendar*. His gloss to the September eclogue states: "Now I thinke no man doubteth but by Colin is ever meant the Authors selfe, whose especiall good friend Hobbinoll saith hee is, or more rightly Maister Gabriell Harvey: of whose especiall commendation, as wel in Poetrie as Rethorike and other choice learning, we have lately had a sufficient triall in divers his woorkes." After Spenser had settled in Ireland, the fulsome compliment of his earlier correspondence found a soberer echo in a sonnet addressed to Harvey. It is dated from Dublin, July 18, 1586.

"Harvey, the happy above happiest men
I read: that sitting like a Looker-on
Of this worldes Stage, doest note with critique pen
The sharpe dislikes of each condition:
And as one carelesse of suspition,
Ne fawnest for the favour of the great:
Ne fearest foolish reprehension
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat.
But freely doest, of what thee list, entreat,

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[1] Spenser, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 19.

> Like a great lord of peerelesse liberty:
> Lifting the good up to high Honours seat,
> And the Evill damning evermore to dy:
> For Life, and Death is in thy doomefull writing:
> So thy renowne lives ever by endighting."[1]

Harvey, like Spenser, seems to have been in youth a dependent of Lord Leicester and may have been sent abroad in his service.[2] The fourth book, *Gratulationis Valdinensis* (1578), full of extravagant compliment to Sidney and to Leicester, was addressed to "the most noble and most cultivated youth, Sir Philip Sidney, to me on many accounts by far the dearest (of all young men)." Harvey was so prone to extravagance in praise or blame, that one cannot take in all seriousness the numerous ornate compliments for Lady Pembroke scattered through his writings;[3] especially since many of these hinge upon a tract she is supposed to have written in Harvey's defense during his controversy with Nash.[4] The tract has never been found, but there is ample reason to suppose that the Countess continued her brother's friendship for the Humanist. It may well be noted further that there is one place in Harvey's "*Foure Letters*," 1592, where he groups the "deere Lovers of the Muses and professed Sonnes of the same," as, "Edmond Spenser, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham Fraunce, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Nash, and the rest." It will be interesting later to recall that he thanks these men "for their studious endevours, commendably employed in enriching and polishing their native tongue, never so furnished, or embellished as of late."[1]

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[1] Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 253–254.

[2] Cf. Bk. i, *Gratulationis Valdinensis; Wks.*, ed. cit., i. p. xxxv *sq.*

[3] Cf. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 295–6, 276; ii. 16, 263–4, 319, 320–7, 329. These references are cited by Alice H. Luce, *The Countess of Pembroke's Antonie*, Weimar, 1897.

[4] "Pleased it hath a gentlewoman rare,
With Phœnix quill in diamont hand of Art,
To muzzle the redoubtable Bull-bare
And Play the galiard Championesses part."
— HARVEY, *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 295.

The devotion which Daniel and Fraunce — both named above by Harvey — displayed toward this earlier coterie, and the encouragement they received there, are abundantly indicated. Daniel must have been a particular favorite of the Countess of Pembroke, to whom he dedicated, in succession, his *Delia* sonnets, in 1592,[2] *Cleopatra* in 1594, and the 1609 edition of his *Civil Wars*. The dedication of the *Defence of Ryme*, in 1607, is addressed to Lady Pembroke's son, Philip Herbert, but acknowledges obligation to her and her household. These dedications indicate a degree of personal relationship considerably beyond ordinary patronage, and contain so much of significance for the later steps in this study that they will be quoted in some detail farther on.[3] Spenser's

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[1] *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 218.

[2] Twenty-seven of these sonnets had previously been published in the first edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591. On Daniel and Lady Pembroke, cf. p. 114 *sq.*

[3] *Infra*, pp. 61, 115.

Colin Clout, published in 1595, was probably written four years earlier.[1] It contains a commendatory comment on Daniel, which seems to have a peculiar importance in connection with the classic tragedies fostered by Lady Pembroke.[2] The comment reads: —

"Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,
As daring not too rashly mount to hight,
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
In love's soft laies and looser thoughts delight.
Then rouse thy feathers quickly, Daniell,
And to what course thou please thyself advance.
But most me seemes thy accent will excell
In tragicke plaints and passionate mischance."

Daniel was also a warm friend of Fulke Greville, with whom he engaged in correspondence, and to whom he dedicated his poetic defense of national learning and literature, *Musophilus.*

Abraham Fraunce had, according to Oldys, proceeded to Cambridge under the patronage, and even at the expense, of Sir Philip Sidney; and there are various indications that a cordial welcome was extended him by Sidney's literary circle. Certain lyrics of his also appeared in the first edition of *Astrophel and Stella,* while his *Arcadian Rhetorike,* published in 1588, reveals devotion to Sidney in its very title. Incidentally it quotes from the unpublished manuscript of Spenser's *Faerie Queene.* The manuscript of Fraunce's *Lawyer's Logic* reveals that it was to be entitled *The Shepherd's Logic,* and dedicated to Sir Edward Dyer. It was printed in 1588, with a dedication to Sidney's brother-in-law, the Earl of Pembroke. There are two places in Spenser's works that seem to give recognition to Fraunce's poetic efforts. One is in *Colin Clout,* a probable reference to Fraunce's translation from Virgil of Corydon's lament for Alexis: —

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[1] The dedicatory letter is dated December 27, 1591.

[2] *Infra,* p. 80.

> "There is Corydon, though meanly waged,
> Yet hablest wit of most I know this day."[1]

In the *Faerie Queene* we hear of —

> "Amyntas wretched fate,
> To whom sweet poets verse hath given endless date,"[2]

apparently a reference to the Latin eclogues of Thomas Watson and their English version by Fraunce. Again among Fraunce's works appear various products dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, two of them with her name in the title. These are *The Arcadian Rhetorike,* 1588,[3] *The Countess of Pembroke's Emanuell,* 1591,[4] *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch,* 1591, and its third part, *Amyntas Dale,* 1592.

At the time when this circle of literary men first appeared, England was on the threshold of a splendid period of creative activity, in which the members of the circle were to play a significant part. With their breadth of vision, keenness of perception, and eagerness of spirit, these men could not even have met each other from time to time and chatted over their ambitions and attempts, without evolving a body of critical doctrine and a group of literary ideals. That they were actually working toward a common end, and felt the inspiration of united effort, seems highly probable; and that end was a far more vital one than the measuring of syllabic quantities.

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[1] ll. 382–383. [2] iii. vi. stanza 45.

[3] The only copy extant is in the Bodleian Library.

[4] Reprinted in Grosart's *Miscellanies,* Fuller Worthies Library, iii.

The first note of this larger purpose appears in 1579, in the introduction to the October eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calendar.* The omniscient commentator, E. K., says of poetry: —

> "Specially having bene in all ages and even amongst the most barbarous, alwayes of singular accoumpt and honor, and being indede so worthy and commendable an arte, or rather no arte, but a divine gift and heavenly instinct not to bee gotten by laboure and learning, but adorned with both; and poured into the witte by a certain Ἐνθουσιασμός and celestiall inspiration, as the Author hereof els where at large discourseth in his booke called The English Poete, which booke being lately come to my hands, I mynde also by Gods grace, upon further advisement, to publish."

A year or so later we have further notice of Spenser's ideas in particular. In 1580 he had taken advantage of friendship, by publishing, without knowledge of the author, a small collection of Harvey's writings, including some rhymed "Verlays." The title-page bears the date August 1, 1580, and, as previously noted, the dedication is to Sir Edward Dyer. Harvey seems to have been only half displeased, to judge by the communication found in his *Letter Book.*[1] Here he proposes an atonement in the form of "CII hairs" from Spenser's beard, which the latter must obligate himself to pay at stated intervals. Then follows significant material in the form of: —

"THE CONDICION OF THIS OBLIGATION

(which haply my yunge Italianate Seignior and French Monsieur will objecte).

"What thoughe Italy, Spayne, and Fraunce, ravisshed with a certayne glorious and ambitious desier (your galantshipp would peradventure terme it zeale and devotion) to sett oute and advaunce ther owne languages above the very Greake and Lattin, if it were possible, and standinge altogither uppon termes of honour and exquisite formes of speaches, karriinge a certayne brave, magnificent grace and maiestye with them, do so highly and honorabely esteeme of their countrye poets reposing on greate parte of their sovraigne glory and reputation abroade in the worlde in the famous writings of their nobblist wittes? What though you and a thousand such nurrishe a stronge imagination amongst yourselves that Alexander, Scipio, Cæsar and most of ower honorablist and worthyest captaynes had never bene that they were but for pore blinde Homer? What though it hath universally bene the practisse of the floorishingist States and most politique commonwelthes from whence we borrowe our substantiallist and most materiall

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[1] Ed. cit., p. 65 *sq.*

> praeceptes and examples of wise and considerate governement, to make the very most of ther vulgare tunges, and togither with ther seigniorye and dominions by all means possible to amplifye and enlarge them, devisinge all ordinarye and extraordinarye helpes, both for the polisshinge and refininge them at home, and alsoe for the spreddinge and dispersinge of them abroade? What though Il Magnifico Segnior Immerito Benivolo[1] hath notid this amongst his politique discourses and matters of state and governemente that the most couragious and valorous minds have evermore bene where was most furniture of eloquence and greatest stoare of notable orators and famous poets."[2]

These two references alone bring out the fact that Spenser, with the knowledge of his friends, was at that time taking a vital interest in the mass of critical theory then attracting so much interest on the Continent and even among the Humanists at home; that he even had material together ready for the publication of a book, *The English Poet*, acquainting England with the dignity and responsibility of the poet's calling; that the real impulse prompting to such study and to all types of poetic experiment was a national or patriotic one, the desire to develop and enrich the English vernacular that it might assume its proper place before men.

Within a very few years Sidney composed his

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[1] Both Immerito and Benivolo are frequently used for Spenser in the Harvey-Spenser correspondence.

[2] In E. K.'s letter to Harvey, prefixed to the *Calendar*, had appeared the statement, "Our mother tongue of itself is full enough for prose and stately enough for verse."

Defense of Poesy, which reveals the fact that he too had been thinking and studying along these same lines. The whole question of the position and function of poetry is taken up at some length, but Sidney too finds various opportunities to deal with conditions in England and reiterate the importance of the vernacular, of which he declares, "For the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world."[1]

The same ideal finds expression in the passage already quoted from Harvey's *Foure Letters*, thanking the poets who have employed their studious endeavors "in enriching and polishing their native tongue." Various contemporaries, particularly Samuel Daniel, made much of the service of Sidney, in advancing English learning and letters and driving the beast of Barbarism from the land. In the dedication of *Cleopatra*, 1594, appears this stanza:—

"Now where so many Pennes (like Speares) are charg'd,
To chase away this tyrant of the North;
Grosse Barbarisme, whose powre grown far inlarg'd
Was lately by thy valiant brothers worth
First found, encountred, and provoked forth:
Whose onset made the rest audacious,
Whereby they likewise have so well discharg'd
Upon that hideous Beast incroaching thus."

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[1] *An Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, London, 1868, p. 70. Various critics, beginning with Dr. Grosart, have suggested that *The English Poet* influenced Sidney's treatise and was perhaps largely embodied in it.

Two years before, the same idea had entered into the dedication of the *Delia* to Lady Pembroke, — "whome the fortune of our time hath made the happie and iudiciall Patronesse of the Muses (a glory hereditary to your house) to preserve them from those hidious Beestes, Oblivion and Barbarisme." Daniel's own devotion to the cause of English enlightenment and his pride in literary achievement find extended expression in the *Musophilus*, 1602, a dialogue in verse between Musophilus and Philocosmus, who argue as their names suggest. The discussion is along general lines, however, with practically no local references.[1] As late as 1607 appeared Daniel's *Defence of Ryme*, indicating that his interest in such matters was still alive.[2] The fact that these various men were busily putting in practice these ideals is too obvious to require comment.

In the later history of this literary circle, though the ideas promulgated by its originators continued to dominate thought and effort, new conditions necessarily arose to change direction and shift emphasis in these propaganda. Thus, by 1607, Daniel felt perfect freedom in writing a treatise against classic metres in English and dedicating it to Lady Pembroke's son, with the statement that he had "received the first notion for the formal ordering of these compositions at Wilton." In the same way the element of Protestant devotion, present from the beginning, appeared to play a more important part with the later men.[1] In fact the person of Lady Pembroke herself, in her Protean rôle of scholar, creative artist, religious enthusiast, benevolent patroness, and mistress of an excellently ordered household, seems to have inspired and colored the literary efforts of those whom she grouped about her.

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[1] The general plan of this may have been suggested by Henri Estienne's *Dialogues du nouveau langage*.

[2] Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorike*, in spite of its narrower purpose, might provide interesting evidence along these same lines. The title seems to indicate a broad, modern point of view: "The Arcadian Rhetorike, or the Precepts of Rhetorike made plaine by examples Greeke, Latin, English, Italian, French, Spanish, out of Homer's Ilias and Odissea, Virgil's Æglogs, Georgikes and Æneis, Songs and Sonets, Torquato Tassoes Goffredo, Aminta, Torrismondo, Salist his Judith and both his semaines, Boscan and Garcilassoes sonets and Æglogs. . . ."

Prominent among the late members of the group appears Nicholas Breton,[2] who dedicated to Lady Pembroke no less than five of his works: *The Pilgrimage to Paradise ioned with the Countess of Pembroke's Love*, 1592; *Auspicante Jehova, Maries Exercise*, 1597; *Wit's Trenchmour*, 1597; *The Ravisht Soule and Blessed Weeper*, 1601; and the *Countess of Pembroke's Passion* (undated). Breton's allegiance to the early group of writers is marked in his works, the *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, for instance, being an allegory after the manner of the *Faerie Queene*. He also composed epitaphs for both Sidney and Spenser.

John Davies of Hereford, whose works, like

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[1] *Infra*, chap. iv.

[2] Cf. Breton, *Works*, ed. Grosart, London, 1877.

Breton's, took a decidedly religious tone, frankly acknowledges his obligation to Lady Pembroke and her family.[1] He praises her in two sonnets, and in the epistle dedicatory to his *Muses Sacrifice*, in 1612. In *Worthy Persons* he declares to her: —

> "I am hee
> That (maugre Fate) was, is, and still will be
> The triton of your praise."

When the poetic version of the Psalms by Sidney and his sister was first printed in 1823, it had this statement on the title-page: "Now first printed from A Copy of the Original Manuscript Transcribed by John Davies of Hereford, In the Reign of James the First."

Sir William Alexander's relation to this circle is not so clear. Even if no direct connection is evident, he certainly worked along similar lines with its representatives, and knew and appreciated their efforts. He had been tutor and literary adviser to King James while that monarch was still in Scotland, and soon followed him to England, where he was promptly installed as one of the gentlemen of the king's chamber. His training and tastes were similar to those of Lady Pembroke's literary following, and an early acquaintance would have been the only natural result. That Samuel Daniel, at least, quickly recognized Alexander's importance and knew his literary plans, is apparent from some lines in the dedication of *Philotas* (1605)[1] "to the Prince": —

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[1] "I am not so much mine own as yours." — *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 97.

> "And though you have a Swannet of your own
> Within the bankes of Douen[2] meditates
> Sweet notes to you, and unto your renowne
> The glory of his Musicke dedicates,
> And in a lofty tone is yet to sound
> The deepe reports of sullen tragedies; . . . "

Alexander was a devoted admirer of Sidney's *Arcadia,* to which, in 1613, he added a "completion" of the Third Book. In his *Anacrisis,* composed about twenty years later and addressed to his friend William Drummond, he still praises the *Arcadia,* and says of his own addition to it, "it were enough to be excellent by being second to Sidney, since who ever could be that, behoved to be before others."[3]

The consideration that has called forth this extended preliminary statement is at length in order, — the part played by France, or rather by French literary theorists, in providing impulse for the propaganda of this English circle, as well as actual models upon which creative efforts might be built. Italy, of course, was the real source of this sort of doctrine, and France in her turn often colored it so little with her own peculiarities of thought, that, without positive evidence of direct indebtedness, little can be said in many cases for French influence. There are certain phases of the English movement, however, that appear to be distinctly French and justify investigation. Prior to this, it will be well to note the relations of individuals in this English group to France, to French people, and to French literature.

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[1] Daniel, *Wks.,* ed. Grosart, iii. 101.

[2] Douen was a river near Alexander's home in Scotland, and is often mentioned in his poems.

[3] Wm. Drummond, *Works,* Folio ed., Edin., 1711, p. 161.

Spenser, though probably deprived of the advantages of a grand tour, appears to have been none the less familiar with French literature, especially the writings of Du Bellay. It is true that his renderings from the French are as a rule free and often inaccurate, but he worked as an adapter rather than a translator. It is probable that even in youth he began this adapting of French poetry. In 1569 appeared the English version of Van der Noodt's *Theatre for Worldlings*, containing two poetic pieces, *The Visions of Petrarch* and *The Visions of Bellay*, represented as derived respectively from Brabantish and Dutch versions of the originals. The second follows so literally Du Bellay's own verses, and the first is so closely modeled on a French translation of Petrarch by Marot, that one might well be skeptical regarding these Brabantish and Dutch intermediaries. Moreover, in Spenser's *Complaints*, published in 1591 and never questioned by him, almost these same English poems appear as the eighth and ninth parts. There has been much controversy pro and con,[1] but the probability remains that young Spenser contributed adaptations from the French to Van der Noodt's *Theatre*. Three other divisions of Spenser's *Complaints* are indebted to Du Bellay. *The Ruins of Rome by Bellay* acknowledges thus its own obligation;[1] and the *Ruins of Time* shows many resemblances to Du Bellay's *Songe*, of which the *Visions of the World's Vanity* is only a reflex.[2] Such indebtedness gives vital sincerity to a tribute like the following, in *L'Envoy* to the *Ruins of Rome:*—

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[1] Cf. articles by Emil Koeppel in *Eng. Stud.*, xv. 53 *sq.*, and xxvii. 100 *sq.*; and by J. B. Fletcher in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, October, 1898.

"Bellay, first garland of free Poesie
That France brought forth, though fruitfull of brave wits,
Well worthie thou of immortalitie,
That long hast traveled, by thy learned writs,
Olde Rome out of her ashes to revive,
And give a second life to dead decayes!
Needes must he all eternitie survive,
That can to other give eternall dayes:
Thy dayes therefore are endles, and thy prayse
Excelling all, that ever went before."[3]

Another palpable French borrowing of Spenser's is found in the November and December eclogues of the *Shepheardes Calendar*, both of these being drawn from Marot. This may also be taken as a further dependence on Du Bellay, who, in his *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse*, giving a list of models for pastoral, cites Theocritus, Virgil, and Sannazaro, and then commends "cete Ecclogue sur la naissance du filz de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à mon gré un des meilleurs petiz ouvraiges que fist onques Marot."[1] E. K., in his Epistle prefixed to the *Calendar*, enlarges on Du Bellay's list of eclogue writers, giving French form to their names, and concludes it: "and divers other excellent both Italian and French Poetes, whose foting this Author every where followeth."[2] An interesting connection will also be found arising between the *Faerie Queene* and the *Semaines* of Du Bartas.[3]

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[1] Cf. *Faerie Queene*, i. v. 49: "The Antique ruins of the Romanes fall."

[2] Cf. Koeppel, in *Eng. Stud.*, xv. 80.

[3] Spenser, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 170.

Sidney's relations with France were manifold. They began in 1572, with a sojourn at the court of Charles IX. of France, where his attractive qualities soon won for him, foreigner that he was, the good will of all the French nobility, and a special mark of royal favor in an appointment as gentleman of the king's chamber. Here began a warm friendship with Henry of Navarre, which Greville considered worthy of special notice.[4] Here too he must at least have made the acquaintance of Ronsard, who was attached to the court, had an apartment at the Louvre, and probably was writing his sonnets for Hélène.[5] This acquaintance must have been recalled often to Sidney's mind, for Ronsard appears to have been a close friend of the Earl of Leicester — the uncle of Sidney and the patron of Harvey and Spenser, — celebrating him in verse as "l'ornement des Anglois."[1] Ronsard's verses were alike the solace of Mary Stuart in prison and the delight of Elizabeth on her throne.[2] He is lavish in his hearsay praises of the English queen,[3] and her admiration for him is noted thus by his biographer Binet: —

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[1] Du Bellay, *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, i. 40.

[2] Spenser, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 30. Noted by J. B. Fletcher, "Areopagus and Pléiade," in *Jour. of Germ. Philol.*, ii. 447 *sq.*

[3] *Infra.* p. 169 *sq.*

[4] Fulke Greville, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, in *Works*, ed. Grosart, 1870, iv. 35.

[5] J. J. Jusserand, in *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1898, p. 602.

> "Il fut tant admiré par la Royne d'Angleterre, qui lisoit ordinairement ses ecrits, qu'elle les voulut comme comparer à un diamont d'excellente valeur qu'elle luy envoya." [4]

Sidney's stay at Paris was concluded and his later convictions affected by the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day; but escaping to Frankfort, he fell in with another Frenchman, Hubert Languet, who, in spite of greater age and experience, entered with him into relations of the closest comradeship. Languet's devoted Protestantism came not amiss after the horrors of Bartholomew, and paved the way for a series of friendships with French Protestants, which stand out clearly in Sidney's career. Languet, through his correspondence,[1] was almost the guiding factor in Sidney's Italian experiences, which followed soon after their meeting. The letters between them savor strongly of the early type of Humanism, with solemn discussions of well-rounded education, of improvement of style by Ciceronian study — not too servile, — and above all, of the Circe-enchantments of Italy.

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[1] Ronsard, *Œuvres*, ed. Bibl. Elzév., 1860, iv. 382.

[2] Binet, *Vie de Pierre Ronsard*, in *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, prem. série, x. 390.

[3] Ronsard, *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, iii. 242 *sq.*

[4] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 432, suggests that Sidney may have noted that Elizabeth was envious of the luster which Ronsard at Paris and Tasso at Ferrara shed on their sovereigns.

Among the other French friends and correspondents of Sidney may be noted Languet's Protestant co-worker in political theory, François Hotman;[2] the poet Pibrac,[2] referred to several times in Languet's letters; Henri Estienne,[3] Protestant scholar, translator, and champion too of the inherent possibilities of his native language, — who was an admirer of Sidney, gave him a copy of a moral treatise written in Greek by Estienne himself, and in 1581 dedicated to him an edition of Herodian together with a Latin version by Poliziano; Banosius, ardent follower of Ramus's Platonism, — who in 1575 promised Sidney the first copy of his edition of Ramus's commentaries, because he recognized the young Englishman's fondness for the theme and his ability to promulgate it at home.[1] Another enthusiastic French Protestant, Duplessis-Mornay, came to England in 1577; and, having been for eight years a warm friend of Languet, was promptly received into the company of Sidney as well as of the court.[2] Sidney stood as the god-father of Duplessis-Mornay's daughter, born in England in 1578; and later undertook the English translation of his treatise, *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne.* Finally, we note Sidney as a friend and correspondent of Du Bartas, as well as a translator of his poetry, the translation being licensed in 1588.

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[1] Cf. *Huberti Langueti Epistolæ Politicæ et Historicæ ad Philippum Sydnæum*, Francofurti, 1633; also the English translation of the *Correspondence* by S. A. Pears, London, 1845.

[2] E. J. B. Rathery, "Des Relations sociales et intellectuelles entre la France et l'Angleterre," in *Rev. contemp.*, 1855, prem. série, xxi. 54. The *Quatrains* of Pibrac were translated into English by Sylvester by 1605.

[3] Zouch, *Memoirs of Philip Sidney*, ed. York, 1809, p. 117.

After he returned from his Italian tour, Sidney's service to the court was full of activity. Official trips abroad were interspersed with the entertainment of foreign ambassadors at home. When an embassy from France, for instance, appeared at court in 1581 to negotiate a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville were the leaders in the jousting; and on their return via the Netherlands, Sidney was among those chosen to attend them as far as Antwerp.[3] According to

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[1] H. R. Fox Bourne, *Philip Sidney* (Heroes of the Nations), p. 190. Sidney's relations with Languet, Estienne, and Banosius are noted by Harvey in his address to Sidney, bk. iv. *Gratulationis Valdinensis:* —

> "What trophies of thy genius Stephanus showed:
> Still more Languetus; most of all Banosius."

[2] *Mémoires de Madame de Mornay,* ed. Paris, 1868, i. 118, 120.

[3] Zouch, *Memoirs of Philip Sidney,* ed. cit., p. 178 *sq.*

Greville, Sidney's last composition, in the very face of death, was a French poem, *La cuisse rompue.*[1]

Evidence of French influence in Sidney's creative work is not very positive. His sonnets are comparatively independent of slavish borrowing. The *Arcadia,* however, gives evidence of considerable indebtedness, both in substance and in form, to the French version of the *Amadis de Gaul,* begun by Herberay des Essarts, especially to the eleventh book.[2] There is perhaps a possibility of direct French influence in such a character as the pedant, Master Rombus, in *The Lady of May,* but Rombus represents a very common continental type, especially in Italian comedy, and affords no substantial evidence.[3]

As Lady Pembroke's interests were closely allied with her brother's, she may properly be supposed to have esteemed his French acquaintances and have shared his regard for their writings. In the case of Duplessis-Mornay, for example, she translated his *Discours de la vie et de la mort,* apparently as a companion piece to the version of *La vérité de la religion chrestienne* begun by Sir Philip. Among the other members of the group, we are at least sure that both Dyer and Greville were scholarly and accomplished courtiers, the former having traveled abroad, the latter being kept at home, we are told, because of Queen Elizabeth's admiration for his accomplishments. Daniel will be seen to display French influence in his writings. Both Daniel and Harvey paid tribute to the poetry of Du Bartas; and Breton, Davies, and Alexander were indebted to it.[1] As may be seen from the complete title of the *Arcadian Rhetorike,* Fraunce was well acquainted with these poems and drew numerous citations from them.[2]

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[1] *Life of Sidney,* ed. cit., p. 138.

[2] This relation, already slightly noted by Dunlop and Grässe, was developed in 1893, by William Vaughn Moody, in a Sohier Prize Essay (unpub.) at Harvard University. It has since been noted independently by K. Brunhuber, *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer,* Nürnberg, 1903.

[3] The Italian *Commedia dell' Arte* was being played in Paris about the time Sidney was there; and for that matter Italian actors were playing in London in 1578. Certain French writers, especially Grévin and Larivey, who adapted Italian comedies about this time, furnish in their work numerous characters and situations which may really have influenced Elizabethan dramatists; but in nearly every case this same material was as easily accessible to the Englishmen who used it, in the *Commedia dell' Arte,* the regular Italian comedy, or even in the classics.

About thirty years previous to the first united efforts of this Areopagus group in England, there had arisen in France an association of poets and literary theorists, calling themselves *La Pléiade,* and having such an identity of purpose and so similar a history that the parallel with our English circle offers attractive possibilities.[3] The leading spirits in the group had been nourished by the Humanistic teachings of the French scholar Dorat, and the movement fostered was only the regular step made in every nation to which Humanism extended, — the realization that one's own vernacular is great in possibility and should be made great in achievement. The program of the circle, as first expressed in Du Bellay's *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse*, in 1549, as well as in later critical discussions by its members, justifies the statement that the fundamental purpose of the Pléiade organization was the patriotic one of establishing the inherent excellence of the French language, considering the best means for enriching and developing it, and then experimenting, in various creative efforts, in order to obtain actual results from this exploited medium of expression. The general method of enrichment was to be along the line of digestive imitation already made familiar by the Humanists.

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[1] Cf. chap. iv.

[2] *Supra,* p. 40, note.

[3] This parallel is developed at length by J. B. Fletcher, "Areopagus and Pléiade," in *Jour. of Germ. Philol.,* vol. ii.

As might have been expected, these discussions soon gathered to themselves most of the conventional themes and notions which then formed the body of critical controversy in Europe: moreover, as time went on, various new turns and interpretations were given to Pléiade theories, by external conditions, by the personal views of later controversialists, by the character and fate of literary attempts among the members. By 1579, indeed, Baïf had emphasized and tested classic versifying to an extent scarcely dreamed of by his fellows three decades earlier; Estienne had arisen from his Greek Humanism to exalt the French language and insist upon its protection from Italian taint; Du Bartas, seizing some of the tenets of Pléiade theory, had carried them to extremes in the interests of Protestant poetry; the classic type of drama had gained a wide vogue through the assistance of the Italians; and the verse forms of Italy, exploited first by Pléiade leaders, had taken further shape in the hands of Desportes. Various new treatises on literary criticism had appeared in these thirty years, including several commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics;* and even in England the Humanists had progressed to the threshold of vernacular exploitation.[1] Obviously Sidney and his friends, with their scholarly attainments and wide experience, had constant opportunity to come in contact with this whole development. An elaborate parallel between their activities and those of the Pléiade, then, would of necessity contain many details in no way indicative of immediate influence, however real such influence may have been in general. The better plan, as already suggested, is to select those phases in which there are peculiar reasons why England should have been affected by French example.

The first consideration is the existence of the Areopagus circle itself. The Areopagus proper may indeed have been no more than Harvey understood it to be, an association or academy to experiment with classic metres in the vernacular. The *Accademia della Nuova Poesia* had existed for this purpose forty years earlier, in Italy. Baïf's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique,* chartered by the French king only two years before Sidney's first visit to France, must certainly have had considerable influence on this English group. But it has been carefully noted that in the real thought and effort in which this English circle coöperated there was the wider purpose which was fundamental with the Pléiade.

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[1] Cf. on this whole matter J. E. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance,* New York, 1899.

England did not have to go to the Pléiade for this patriotic conception of the vernacular, nor for the plan of digestive imitation by which the native tongue was to receive enrichment. Controversy on the question had begun with Dante, and been carried on in the sixteenth century by Bembo, Castiglione, Varchi, Muzio, Tolomei, and others, to be finally summed up for Italy in an oration by Salviati in 1564.[1] French Humanists had broken the path for the Pléiade, and Estienne had supplemented Pléiade effort. English Humanism, with which Sidney's group was intimately connected, had advanced just to the dividing line, or a bit beyond. John Sturm, Ascham's friend and counselor, seeking only the perfection of prose Latinity among students, and deploring the time lost by children in learning a vernacular tongue, had advocated a liberal system for the imitation of models of style. He confessed admiration for modern Italian poetry, and, in lieu of good Latin, advocated the cultivation of the vernacular as a source of refinement.[1] His ideas found their way into England through such men as Ascham and Cheke. His more liberal treatise, *De nobilitate literata,* was translated in 1570. Sir John Cheke, still thinking of the ideal of excellence in Latin prose, advocated a plan of digestive imitation similar to Sturm's, illustrating it by Cicero's imitation of Demosthenes. His example thus considered imitation in a language that was different from that of the model.[2] Roger Ascham drew his doctrine of imitation directly from Sturm and Cheke, and restated the example of Cicero and Demosthenes for those, presumably, who would learn perfection in Latin prose style. Ascham was ready enough to accept material from the Italian Humanists, but was outspoken in condemnation of the Circe-enchantments of Italian romantic literature.

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[1] Cf. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

We are privileged to see Harvey almost in process of transformation in regard to vernacular usage. In his earlier studies he was a devout and somewhat bigoted worshiper of Ciceronian "eloquentia." During a vacation from the university in 1577, according to his own testimony, he had been won away from this narrow position, and had come to look for the whole man in a writer as the source of style; and, though still exalting Cicero, to attend first to the life and power of the man and not the mere surface polish of his language. "Let every man," he says significantly, "learn to be, not a Roman, but a Frenchman, German, Briton, or Italian."[1] Indeed by this time modern literature and modern customs from the continent, previously condemned by Ascham, were making considerable inroads into England, as Harvey complains in various places.[2]

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[1] Cf. Charles Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm,* Strasbourg, 1855.

[2] Cf. John Strype, *Life of Sir John Cheke,* London, 1705.

Sidney had long been familiar with the Humanist point of view, at least since the beginning of his acquaintance with Languet. As late as 1579, in writing to his younger brother Robert, then abroad, he was as outspoken as Ascham or Harvey in condemning the life and customs of Italy, though there is nothing said of her literature. To Robert also he expressed tersely enough his views on Ciceronianism: "So you can speak and write Latin, not barbarously, I never require great study in Ciceronianism, the chief abuse of Oxford, *qui dum verba sectantur, res ipsas negligunt*."[1] Spenser, as a boy at Merchant Taylors' School, must have come in contact with Dr. Mulcaster, then head-master. Mulcaster was a liberal Humanist, who by 1582, when he published his *First part of the Elementarie*, was willing to express a defense of the English vernacular as enthusiastic as any of those yet encountered.[2]

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[1] Cf. Henry Morley, "Spenser's Hobbinoll," in *Fortnightly Review*, v. (n. s.), 279.

[2] *E.g.* in his hexameter poem concerning such fashions, *Letter Book*, p. 97, with the line, "O tymes, O manners, O French, O Italish Inglande." There is a similar strain in his "Earthquake" letter to Spenser: "Tully and Demosthenes nothing so much studyed, as they were wonte: Livie and Salust possiblye rather more, than lesse: Lucian never so much: Aristotle muche named, but little read: Xenophon and Plato, reckned amongest Discoursers, and conceited Superficiall fellowes: . . . Matchiavell a great man: Castilio of no small reputation: Petrarch and Boccace in every mans mouth: . . . The French and Italian when so highly regarded of Schollers? The Latine and Greeke, when so lightly?" *Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 69.

There seems to be something wanting in English Humanism, and for that matter in all Humanism, to account entirely for the concerted activity of Sidney's circle. Humanism offered the speculations of schoolmen seeking excellence in oratorical prose, often with no regard for poetry; and approached vernacular enrichment usually with regret that a perfect Latinity could not be had. Indeed for a prototype of the Areopagus group in its larger sense only one circle of men appears available. The Pléiade were poetic enthusiasts united to carry into actual practice the ideas they had received from Humanism. The work they had undertaken must have been familiar to Sidney's group, just as the results of their undertakings, however divergent from original intentions, were familiar. In 1575, Ronsard's *Abrégé de l'Art Poetique françois* was utilized by Gascoigne as a model for his *Certayne Notes of Instruction*

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[1] These letters are printed in Sidney's *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. W. Gray, Oxford, 1829, p. 278 *sq.*

[2] Cf. I. Disraeli, *Amenities of Literature*, New York, 1847, ii. 27; also Henry Morley, *English Writers*, ix. 187.

concerning the Making of Verse;[1] the very year of the Harvey-Spenser letters, Estienne's *Précellence du langage françois* was recalling in men's mind the service of the Pléiade leaders. The large results of their united activities were vividly enough remembered to make them a natural model for eager young English poets with similar ambitions.

Before proceeding to investigate further French influence in the activities of the Areopagus group, an interesting parallel deserves attention, involving the possibility that the versatile career of the Countess of Pembroke was modeled considerably on that of Margaret of Navarre, the "amiable mother of the Renaissance" in France. Margaret was one of those brilliant, attractive, and thoroughly capable Renaissance women, so familiar in Italian society. She was of the religious type, however, represented among the Italians by Vittoria Colonna, with whom indeed Margaret exchanged letters. She was equipped with a good education, a large intellectual endowment, and a full capacity for enjoying life, giving her power in social relations, in literary effort, and to some extent in political affairs. She had for many years her coterie of poets, and after 1540 encouraged them in the study and expression of the Platonic philosophy.[2] Her patronage was thoroughly disinterested, prompted largely by an open-hearted benevolence. Her household was the asylum for harassed preachers and free-thinkers, as well as the meeting-place of poets; and both classes joined in celebrating her gentleness and sweet sympathy even more than her sparkle of wit and beauty of person. Brantôme puts it in this way, "Elle estoit très bonne, douce, gratieuse, charitable, grand' aumosniere et ne desdaignant personne." [1] Margaret was also devoutly religious. From early life she accepted many of the Protestant teachings and evidenced a decided leaning toward those who professed the faith. She never formally broke away from Catholicism, and the rigid dogmatism of Calvin was in general equally distasteful to her. The more liberal early teachings of the Reformation appealed rather to her mind, deeply tinged as it was by mysticism. This is the mood of her numerous religious poems, the spirit that found pleasure in welcoming all those who suffered for truth's sake. Even her Platonism was taken up reverently and fused with this religious mysticism,[2] so that its literature, under her inspiration, is rather theoretical than highly adulatory.

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[1] This is noted by Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

[2] Cf. Abel Lefranc, "Le Platonisme et la littérature en France," in *Rev. d'histoire litt. de la France*, 1896.

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[1] Brantôme, *Œuvres,* ed. Bibl. Elzév., Paris, 1890, x. 292. Cf. on this whole characterization A. Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance,* i. 96 *sq.*

[2] This fusion of Platonism and Christianity had of course come to Margaret out of Italy, probably from the teaching of Ficino. A. Lefranc, "Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance," in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes,* lviii. 259 *sq.*, calls attention to the influence of Nicholas de Cuse, really a forerunner of Ficino in this regard.

There was every reason that Sidney's sister should have been familiar with the character of Margaret and the significance of her patronage of French letters; every reason too that she should have admired and imitated such a personality. England had been deeply interested in the struggles of the French Protestants, and throughout these the family of Margaret had been much in evidence. Sidney's warm friendship with Henry of Navarre, Margaret's grandson, has already been noted as extending from 1572. Sixteen tales from Margaret's *Heptaméron* had been incorporated in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, first published in 1566. The complete work, after circulating for forty years, retained interest enough to justify an English version in 1597 and another in 1600. Her *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* had been turned into English as early as 1544 by the young Princess Elizabeth, and thus bore among English people the mark of royal favor.

The parallel of Lady Pembroke to Margaret of Navarre may be rapidly developed, chiefly by quotation from a host of tributes and dedications.[1] During her brother's life she had been intimately concerned in most of his literary labors. At his death she worked over and augmented his *Arcadia* and gave it to the public in authorized form; completed the verse translations of the Psalms which they had begun together; translated from the French Duplessis-

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[1] Cf. Alice H. Luce, *The Countess of Pembroke's Antonie.*

Mornay's *Discours de la vie et de la mort*, as a companion piece to her brother's half-finished rendering of the *Vérité de la religion chrestienne*, which was completed by Arthur Golding; and turned into English Garnier's classic tragedy of *Antoine*. Testimony to her ability as a writer is abundant, but these quotations appear most authoritative: —

"Urania, sister unto Astrofell,
In whose brave mynd, as in a golden coffer,
All heavenly gifts and riches locked are,
More rich than perles of Ynde, or gold of Opher,
And in her sex more wonderfull and rare."
— SPENSER, *Colin Clout*, ll. 488 *sq.*

"Learned Mary, the honorable Countesse of Pembrook . . . is very liberall unto Poets; besides shee is a most delicate Poet, of whome I may say, as Antipater Sidonius writeth of Sappho: —

Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus,
Quæsivit decima Pieris unde foret."
— MERES, *Palladis Tamia*, in Arber's *English Garner*, ii. 101.

Her extensive patronage of literary men was characterized by clearness of vision and breadth of purpose, as Daniel indicates in the dedication of his classic tragedy *Cleopatra:* —

"Loe heere the labour which she did impose,
Whose influence did predominate my Muse:
The starre of wonder my desires first chose
To guide their travels in the course I use:
She, whose cleare brightnesse had the powre t' infuse
Strength to my thoughts, from whence these motions came,
Call'd up my spirits from out their low repose,

> To sing of State, and tragicke notes to frame,
> I, who (contented with an humble song,)
> Made musique to my selfe that pleased me best,
> And onely told of Delia and her wrong,
> And prais'd her eyes, and plaind mine owne unrest:
> (A text from whence my Muse had not digrest)
> Madam, had not thy well grac'd Antony;
> (Who all alone, having remained long,)
> Requir'd his Cleopatras company."[1]

Nicholas Breton, in the dedication of *Wit's Trenchmour*, 1597, preserves a graphic picture of the refined household over which she presided, suggesting also her benevolence.

> "It was my greatest happiness that of this world I ever founde, to light into the court-like home of a right worthy honorable lady. . . . Her house being in a manner a kind of little Court, her Lorde in place of no meane command, her person no less than worthily and honourablie attended, as well with Gentlewomen of excellent spirits, as divers Gentlemen of fine cariage: . . . a house richly garnished, honor kindly entertained, vertue highly esteemed, service well rewarded, and the poor blessedly relieved. . . . Ever since . . . if I have come among men, it hath been like a Faire of rude people, compared to the sweet company of that house; if in the company of women, like a meeting of Gossips, in respect of the gracious spirits of the sweete creatures of that little paradise."[2]

This description certainly approaches the conditions that characterized the households of the great ladies of the Renaissance. That Breton himself was aware of the resemblance, appears from his dedication of the *Pilgrimage to Paradise*, five years earlier:—

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[1] Daniel, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, London, 1885, iii. 23.
[2] Breton, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, London, 1877, ii. 18.

> . . . "who hath redde of the Duchesse of Urbina, may saie, the Italians wrote wel: but who knowes the Countesse of Pembroke, I think hath cause to write better: and if she had many followers, have not you mo servants? and if they were so mindfull of their favours, shall we be forgetfull of our dueties? no, I am assured, that some are not ignorant of your worth, which will not be idle in your service. . . ."[1]

Some of the phraseology in this last quotation seems to suggest the Platonic cult, which must have been familiar to Lady Pembroke and her household, if only through Sidney's regard for it. His writing is frequently colored by Platonic doctrine. As early as 1575 Banosius recognized his devotion to it; and as late as 1584–1585, Giordano Bruno, a vigorous exponent of Platonism, was dedicating books to him.[2] The *Delia* sonnets of Daniel, dedicated to Lady Pembroke, are full of Platonic spirit, and it is sigificant that the title is probably borrowed from Maurice Scève's *Délie, objet de la plus haute vertu*, a collection of *dizains* prepared under patronage of Margaret of Navarre and celebrating the highest type of Platonism.

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[1] It is an open question how seriously Daniel looked to Lady Pembroke as the real Delia of his sonnet sequence. The 29th Sonnet, "To M. P.," with its suggestion of poverty or humble rank as a barrier to love, seems particularly significant. Cf. chap. iii.

[2] Cf. I. Frith, *Life of Giordano Bruno*, London, 1887, chap. v. On the Platonism in *Astrophel and Stella* cf. J. B. Fletcher, "Did 'Astrophell' love 'Stella'?" in *Mod. Philol.* v. 253 (1907).

The blending of Platonism and Christianity already noticed in her continental prototypes was present in Lady Pembroke. But just as Margaret, under French influences, had developed her reformed faith beyond that of Vittoria Colonna, and made it more the directive force of her existence; so Lady Pembroke, under favorable environment in England, was a devout Protestant, firm in convictions which Platonism could beautify but not change. The religious character of her own works would be proof enough of this; the Protestantism of her circle adds weight to the thought; and a computation of the actual amount of religious literature dedicated to her honor in and out of her circle leaves no doubt whatever. These things do not, of course, establish the fact of Lady Pembroke's emulation of Margaret of Navarre. Every point noted, except perhaps the last, could be paralleled as well in Vittoria Colonna. But the interest of English Protestants in general and the Sidneys in particular in the religious contentions of France, makes it unlikely that the Lady Mary at this time would have gone farther for a model than to this French patroness of liberal Protestantism and national letters.

There now remain to be considered those particular lines of activity in the circle of the Sidneys which for one reason or another seem indebted to French influence. For instance there are some methods of language enrichment which give such indication, particularly the revival of archaisms and the use of compound words.

In the earlier documents of the Pléiade, archaic French was a resource urged much more emphatically by Ronsard than by Du Bellay. The actual poetry of the Pléiade, however, was all in the direction of Italian imitation; and the possible employment of archaism was practically forgotten until the spirited campaign of Estienne in its defense and against Italianizing. Estienne's insistence on the inherent excellence of his native tongue became public as early as 1565, in his treatise, *De la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, and was vigorously supported in his *Dialogues du nouveau langage*[1] and *La précellence du langage françois*, appearing in 1578 and 1579, just when the *Shepheardes Calendar* was taking final form. The anti-Italian tone of Estienne's doctrine, while in strict harmony with the position of one group of the Humanists,[2] certainly had little effect on the poetry of the English circle, who imitated the Italians as the Pléiade had done.[3] The use of archaism, however, found one vigorous adherent, — Edmund Spenser. His fondness for archaic diction, not only in the *Calendar*, where there was reasonable justification for it, but also throughout the whole structure of the *Faerie Queene*, is familiar enough. In E. K.'s letter to Harvey, accompanying the *Calendar*, there is an elaborate statement of the value of such language, quite in the spirit of Estienne's contemporary writings.

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[1] The probable dependence of Daniel's *Musophilus* upon this work has been noted, *supra*, p. 40, note.

[2] Sir John Cheke, for instance, "would allow of no words but such as were true English, or of Saxon original." (*Life*, by John Strype, p. 213.)

[3] Marty-Laveaux, *La Langue de la Pléiade*, i. 44, notes that Ronsard, as he grew old, talked of repudiating the pompous new classical terms adopted by his imitators, and insisting only on archaic and dialect borrowings. Yet he had so far conformed to popular opinion (in the face of Pléiade teaching) as to withdraw most of his archaic and dialect expressions from his work and leave the Greek and Latin coinages in.

> "In my opinion it is one especiall praise, of many, which are due to this poet, that he hath labored to restore, as to their rightfull heritage, such good and naturall English wordes as have beene long time out of use, and almost cleane disherited. Which is the only cause, that our mother tongue, which truly of it self is both full inough for prose, and stately inough for verse, hath long time been counted most bare and barren of both. Which default when as some endevoured to salve and recure, they patched up the holes with peeces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latin, not weighing how ill those tongues accord with themselves, but much worse with ours: So now they have made our English tong a gallimaufray or hodgepodge of all other speeches." [1]

Sidney in the *Defense of Poesy* tersely disposes of the matter unfavorably,[2] but there is good reason to believe that Spenser and his editor were prompted from France.

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[1] Spenser, *Wks.* ed. Grosart, ii. 25.

[2] "That same framing of his [the Calendar's] style to an old rustic language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazzaro in Italian did affect it." (*Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, p. 62.)

Regarding the use of compound words, the only statement from Du Bellay is capable of a more general interpretation: "Je veux bien avertir celuy qui entreprendra un grand œuvre, qu'il ne craigne point d'inventer, adopter, et composer à l'immitation des Grecz quelques motz francoys, comme Ciceron se vante d'avoir fait en sa langue."[1] Ronsard, however, in the *Abrégé de l'art poétique*, 1565, is explicit enough: "Tu composeras hardiment des mots à l'imitation des Grecs et des Latins, pourveu qu'ils soient gracieux et plaisans à l'aureille."[2] The most devoted adherent of this practice will be found to be Du Bartas, whose Protestant poetry was well known to the Areopagus following. Whether they took immediate impulse from Du Bartas or looked back of him to Pléiade dictum, Spenser, and more especially Sidney, used compounds freely in their works, while Sidney definitely recommended them in the *Defense of Poesy*. The English, he says, "is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, near the Greek, far beyond the Latin, — which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language."[3] The fact that Sidney's use of compounds, especially in the *Arcadia*, was recognized as due to French influence, is shown by the following, from Hall's *Vergidemiarum*: —

"He knows the grace of that new elegance
Which sweet Philisides fetch'd of late from France,

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[1] *Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoyse*, bk. ii. chap. 6.

[2] Ronsard, *Œuvres*, ed. Bibl. Elzév., vii. 335.

[3] *Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, p. 71.

> That well beseem'd his high-stil'd Arcady,
> Though others marre it with much liberty,
> In epithets to join two wordes in one
> Forsooth for adjectives can't stand alone;
> As a great poet could of Bacchus say
> That he was Semele-femori-gena."[1]

Through the combined influence of Sidney and Spenser and of the poetry of Du Bartas, both in the original and in Sylvester's translation, this excessive use of compounds spread rapidly through English literature, a French importation of weighty, if not salutary, influence.[2]

In the introduction of classic metres, so prominent a feature in the Areopagus program, appears another activity urged upon the reformers from many directions. Naturally this method of versifying was a popular one with the later Humanists. Among the English, Ascham and Harvey were particularly urgent regarding it. On the continent it had enjoyed an extensive history, originating in Italy and spreading to all countries under Italian influence. The Italian *Accademia della Nuova Poesia* has already been mentioned, from which came Tolomei's book of precept and experiment, *Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana,* published at Rome in 1539. Various treatises and hexameter poems appeared in Italy and France in the sixteenth century, among which the earlier utterances of the Pléiade offered nothing of novelty.[3] Of necessity, these discussions and creative attempts soon called attention to an important matter, the difficulty of adapting a modern language, with its illogical spelling, to the classic system of quantitative verse. The relief was simple, — to reform the orthography and make it phonetic. Ramus, who was a believer in quantitative verse in French, advocated this, together with the simplified spelling that would make it practicable, in his *Grammar*, in 1562. The English scholar, Sir Thomas Smith, had made the acquaintance of Ramus at Paris some twenty years before this, and after returning to England, had joined with his friend John Cheke to promulgate a phonetic system of English orthography.[1]

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[1] Bk. vi. satire 1.

[2] Cf. the discussion in chap. iv.

[3] G. Carducci collects the Italian poems in classical metres, as well as Tolomei's rules, in his *La Poesia barbara*

In France, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, a member of the Pléiade circle, busied himself in putting these theories into practical execution. Drawing probably upon the plan of the *Accademia della Nuova Poesia*,[2] as well as upon the phonetic spelling system of Ramus, he helped to organize, in 1570, the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*,[3] and published, four years later, his *Etrenes de Poezie Fransoeze an Vȩrs Mezures*, in which his

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nei secoli xv e xvi, Bologna, 1881. Cf. also G. Mignini, *Saggio di grammatica storica: i versi italiani in metrica latina*, Perugia, 1886. French experiments are treated by Egger, *Hellénisme en France*, Paris, 1869, i. 290 *sq.*, and Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *Seizième siècle en France*, p. 113 *sq.*

[1] Cf. John Strype, *Life of Sir Thomas Smith;* ibid., *Life of Sir John Cheke.*

[2] Baïf visited Italy in 1563.

[3] Cf. E. Frémy, *L'Académie des derniers Valois*, Paris, 1887.

spelling reform is patent even in the title. The character and aim of this *Académie* is perhaps best indicated by an extract from the "Letters Patent" of the king, regarding the formal request of Baïf and the musician De Courville: —

> " . . . contenant que depuis trois ans en çà ils auroient auec grande estude & labeur assiduel vnanimement trauaillé pour l'aduancement du langage François, à remettre sus, tant la façon de la Poësie, que la mesure & reglement de la Musique anciennement vsitée par les Grecs & Romains, . . . & que dés cette heure pour le peu qu'ils y ont employé, ils auroient desia paracheué quelques essays de Vers mesurez mis en Musique, mesurée selon les loix à peu prés des Maîtres de la Musique du bon & ancien âge. Et qu'aprés l'entreprise loüable, menée iusques à tel point, ils n'ayent pû penser ny trouuer meilleur moyen de mettre en lumiere l'vsage des Essays heureusement reüssis, . . . que dressans à la maniere des Anciens, vne Academie ou Compagnie composée, tant de Compositeurs, de Chantres & Ioüeurs d'Instrumens de la Musique, que des honnestes Auditeurs d'icelle, que non seulement seroit vne Eschole pour seruir de Pepiniere, d'où se tireront vn iour Poëtes & Musiciens, par bon Art, instruits & dressez pour nous donner plaisir, mais entierement profiteroient au public . . ."[1]

A survey of the "Statuts" governing this assembly[2] emphasizes the fact, already apparent here, that this was a somewhat formal and elaborate affair, in which music had a very prominent part, but that, after all, practice in classic metres was really carried on with serious intent. This organization was in its full vigor when Sidney visited France in 1572. It declined at the death of Charles IX., but in all probability came to Sidney's attention again soon after 1576, when it was revived with a larger scope, as the *Académie du Palais,* and Sidney's friend Pibrac became its leader.[1]

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[1] Baïf, *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, i. p. lii *sq.*

[2] Printed in Baïf, *Œuvres*, ed. cit., i. p. lv *sq.*

When Sidney and his friends were turned to the study of classic metres, probably under the immediate impulse of the Humanists about them, this French academy must have been in their minds as representing a well-ordered method of getting at results. True, they simplified operations to suit their needs, but it is worth noting that when Sidney discusses the whole question in the *Defense of Poesy,* the relation of classic verse to music finds a place in his noncommittal statement: —

> "Whether of these[2] be the more excellent would bear many speeches; the ancient no doubt more fit for music, both words and tune observing quantity; and more fit lively to express divers passions, by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable. The latter likewise with his rime striketh a certain music to the ear; and, in fine, since it doth delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose; there being in either, sweetness, and wanting in neither, majesty. Truly the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts."[3]

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[1] Du Bellay (*Deffence,* pt. i. ch. 9) alludes briefly to the possibility of classic metres in French; Pasquier (*Recherches de la France,* bk. vii. ch. 11) defends them; Chamard (ed. of *Deffence,* 1904, p. 115) mentions Jodelle, Denisot, Buttet, Rapin, D' Aubigné, even Ronsard, among those interested in them.

[2] *I.e.* ancient or modern methods of versifying.

[3] *Apologie for Poetrie,* ed. Arber, p. 70.

According to the Harvey-Spenser letters, the actual system of versifying first taken up by Sidney was not that of Baïf, but was the more difficult plan projected by the Englishman Drant,[1] demanding a strict observance of the Latin rules for syllabic quantity without modifying the orthography to facilitate this. Harvey argues against this scheme in favor of a system in which accepted English accents shall be retained. He also insists upon the necessity for a reform in spelling: "In the meane, take this for a general Caveat, and say I have revealed one great mysterie unto you: I am of Opinion, there is no one more regular and justifiable direction, eyther for the assured, and infallible Certaintie of our English Artificiall Prosodye particularly, or generally to bring our Language into Arte, and to frame a Grammer or Rhetorike thereof: than first of all universally to agree upon one and the same Ortographie, in all pointes conformable and proportionate to our Common Natural Prosodye."[2] The system of spelling he prefers is that of Sir Thomas Smith.

Already, in the *Defense of Poesy*, Sidney was unwilling to commit himself regarding English quantitative verse. He and Spenser soon realized the futility of such methods for them. Richard Stanyhurst's translation from the *Æneid,* in 1582, produced independently of the Areopagus group, displayed vagaries enough to condemn the whole project. Several rhetorical treatises, however, continued to support the idea somewhat generally, until finally Samuel Daniel, in his *Defence of Ryme,* 1602, offered this statement, apparently with the authority of Lady Pembroke: "The Latin numbers, notwithstanding their excellency, seemed not sufficient to satisfy the ear of the world."[1] In the meantime, however, Abraham Fraunce, following blindly the lead of early Areopagus activities, had prepared and dedicated to Lady Pembroke three elaborate compositions in hexameters, the *Countess of Pembroke's Emanuell,* 1591; the *Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch,* 1591; and *Amyntas Dale,* 1592. The first of these was accompanied by hexameter versions of some of the Psalms.[2]

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[1] Yet Harvey likes to think that he is perhaps responsible for the whole undertaking. Cf. the quotation on p. 27 *supra*, "I cannot choose, but thanke and honour the good Aungell, whether it were Gabriell or some other that put so good a notion into the heads of these two excellent Gentlemen . . ." Spenser, in the Latin poem to Harvey attached to his letter of October, 1579, speaks of Harvey as his "Angel Gabriel."

[2] Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 76–77.

In the marked Protestantism of the literature produced by the Areopagus group there is probably considerable French influence. It is true that from its inception the circle itself was so emphatically Protestant that anything produced there might receive a religious coloring. But during the formative period in the lives of

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[1] Daniel, *Wks.,* ed. cit., iv. 39.

[2] Baïf made two different attempts to render the Psalms into hexameter verse. Cf. *Œuvres,* ed. cit., vol. i. Introduction; also v. 365.

Sidney and Spenser, France was a battle-ground of Protestantism, and England then grew accustomed to watch every development in the struggle and look to the great Protestant leaders there for inspiration.[1] Sidney's list of friends among the prominent French Protestants has been mentioned. The Pléiade itself was Catholic in faith, and distinctly pagan in its literature. Soon, however, there was in France a marked reaction against this paganism, led by men who in other respects were friends of the Pléiade. As early as 1550, Théodore de Bèze, in the preface to his *Sacrifice d'Abraham*,[2] regrets that "tant de bons esprits en France s'amusent à flatter leurs idoles, c'est à dire leurs seigneurs ou leurs dames;" and he adds, "à la vérité il leur seroit mieux séant de chanter un cantique à Dieu que de pétrarquiser un sonnet et faire l'amoureux transi."[3] Estienne, too, added the charge of paganism to his general objection against Italianization. Du Bartas definitely sounded the call of the "Heavenly Muse," summoning all good poets to turn their verse to the celebration of holy things, he himself setting an elaborate example. His *Judith* and *Uranie* were published in 1573, and his *Première Semaine* in 1578, just before the formation of the Areopagus. The large influence his poetry exercised in England has been suggested, and is developed fully in a separate chapter. By the time this Protestant influence was actively operative in France and England, however, it was supplemented by another impulse toward religious literature, the product of the Catholic Reaction, first manifest in Italy. In the religious spirit of Spenser's work both these forces, Protestant and Catholic, are involved. Sidney, too, must have felt them both, although his direct impulse came from Du Bartas and French Protestantism.[1] In the later group, centered about Lady Pembroke, this religious tone is everywhere present, dominated by the convictions of the lady herself and the influence of Du Bartas. Fraunce, Breton, and John Davies of Hereford were easily the leaders in this sort of composition, as a glance at the titles previously quoted from them will indicate.

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[1] Cf. the religious material in the list of translations, appendix A.

[2] This was translated into English by Arthur Golding in 1577.

[3] Noted in Louis Clément, *Henri Estienne et son œuvre française*, Paris, 1899, p. 162.

In the *Defense of Poesy*, Sidney, under influence from the current continental criticism of his time, expressed himself at length regarding the present and future of English drama. The popular productions of his day he found bad, because of their disregard of the unities, their blending of tragic and comic, their lack of stately dignity. Seneca was named as a standard, with some qualified praise for the English tragedy *Gorboduc*, and favorable mention of Buchanan's tragedies in Latin.[2] Out of this critical attitude of Sidney's probably arose the considerable vogue of classic tragedy among the later members of his circle. The actual impulse came from Lady Pembroke herself, whose *Antonie*, written in 1590 and published two years later, was soon followed by similar compositions by Daniel, Kyd, Fulke Greville, and Sir William Alexander. There is certainly some French influence in this movement; enough at least to claim careful investigation.

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[1] Cf. his statement in the *Defense*, regarding the need of religious spirit in lyric poetry, *infra*, p. 108.

[2] *Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, p. 63 *sq*.

There were various influences in the England of that day to encourage any individual or coterie of scholarly attainments to experiment in classic tragedy. Sidney's opinions in the *Defense* were merely an echo of the accepted critical theories of Italy and France, which were then permeating English thought. The Senecan tragedies themselves were then familiar to Englishmen, both in the original and in translation, the *Ten Tragedies of Seneca*, which appeared in translation in 1581, being in most instances reprints of earlier separate versions, some of them dating back to 1559 and 1560.[1] The academic Latin play in imitation of Seneca was then also familiar, as is shown by Sidney's reference to the Latin tragedies composed by the Scotchman Buchanan in France. As late as 1581, Sidney and Leicester were present at the performance of Gager's Latin tragedy

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[1] *Troas* had been printed in 1559, and *Thyestes* in 1560. *Hippolytus* was licensed as early as 1556–1557. Cf. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1893, p. 3.

Meleager, at Oxford. This play was printed in 1592.[1] Numerous other products of this sort were appearing from time to time, both in England and on the continent. Vernacular tragedies in the Senecan vein were even more common, especially in Italy and France; and these, paralleling the efforts of Lady Pembroke and her circle, would seem more logically to be the immediate impulse of the English vogue.

This *a priori* opinion is confirmed in part by investigations made by Dr. John Ashby Lester some years ago. These involved a comparative study of the tragedies of Seneca; the early English specimens of classic tragedy — namely *Gorboduc, Tancred and Gismunda*, and *The Misfortunes of Arthur;* a group of French classical tragedies including Jodelle's *Cléopâtre*, Brunin's *La Soltane*, Grévin's *César*, and Garnier's *Porcie, Hippolyte, Cornélie, La Troade*, and *Antigone;* and finally, the available specimens of classic tragedy produced by Lady Pembroke and her friends.[2] In general he found that the early classical tragedies in English differ materially from the Senecan usage at certain points, where the later English group is one with the French series in closely following the Senecan model. Thus the early English group shows the employment of seventeen and even twenty-two characters in a play,[1] while all the others, with the exception of Fulke Greville's poem tragedies,[2] follow Seneca in never exceeding ten. While the chorus in Seneca averages almost one-fourth of the play, that of the early English group never exceeds one-sixteenth of the whole, though the French and the later English plays again closely follow Seneca.[3] The same cleavage occurs in the matter of verse form in the choruses; the first English group, like the early English translations from Seneca, exhibiting the simplest kind of verse with regular rhyme scheme, while the French and later English plays follow Seneca himself in the use of lyric metres,[4] and display intricate rhyme schemes, developing in complexity from Jodelle to Alexander. On the other hand, the later English group follows the French series in a definite departure from the custom found in Seneca and the early English specimens, of using the chorus merely as an "ideal spectator" moralizing upon the action. It shares rather in the development of the play, though sometimes to a very limited extent.[5]

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[1] Cf. Fleay, *Biog. Chronicle of the English Drama*, London, 1891, i. 236.

[2] The results are embodied in his dissertation, *Connections between the Drama of France and Great Britain particularly in the Elizabethan Period*, Harvard University, 1900 (unpublished).

In this manner, independent of other considerations, are derived the conclusions that the late English classic drama is more than a mere continuation of the earlier attempts, uninfluenced from without; that, owing to its paralleling the French in definite departures from both the original and the translated Seneca, it can hardly have received its new impulse from the original source; and accordingly that it was influenced by continental vernacular imitations of Seneca, with the antecedent probability in favor of the French. It remains to be seen how far detailed fact will substantiate these conclusions.

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[1] *Tancred and Gismunda* is an exception on this count, there being only eight characters; *Philotas* is an exception on the other side, employing sixteen.

[2] *Alaham* has eighteen scenes and *Mustapha* fifteen.

[3] *Philotas* is again an exception, the chorus being only one-sixteenth of the whole.

[4] Exception is again found in the dramas of Fulke Greville.

[5] The choruses in Buchanan's Latin tragedies are little more than moralizing spectators.

The Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*, written in 1590, and printed in 1592, was avowedly "done into English from the French of Garnier," perhaps the most popular and effective of that group of French playwrights who responded to the call of the Pléiade. The translation is an extremely careful one, following the 1585 edition of Garnier's *Antoine*. It renders his Alexandrine couplets by blank verse, and strives to reproduce the lyric variety of his choruses.[1] It is evident that Lady Pembroke intended this translation as the beginning of a concerted effort. Daniel's dedicatory stanzas to *Cleopatra*, with their direct testimony of Lady Pembroke's agency in his work, have been quoted; as has Spenser's injunction to Daniel in *Colin Clout*, that he try his wings in dealing with tragic plaints and passionate mischance. Considering the date at which *Colin Clout* was probably composed, it is certainly a plausible supposition that Spenser, on his visit to England, had renewed his acquaintance with Lady Pembroke, just as she was finishing *Antonie* and urging Daniel to follow her example; and that the advice in *Colin Clout* is merely Spenser's public approval of the plan of the Countess.

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[1] Luce, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Daniel's *Cleopatra* first appeared in 1594, and takes up the story where Lady Pembroke's *Antonie* drops it. There had been numerous classical plays on the subject, most prominent being Giraldi Cinthio's in 1541, and Jodelle's, in 1552; but no immediate source for Daniel's drama has been found. It conforms closely to the manner of *Antonie* and its French prototypes, and may well have drawn its material from North's *Plutarch*.[1] Its popularity with readers is shown by the numerous editions required, appearing in 1594, 1599, 1601, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1611(2), and 1623. It also appears in two distinct versions, the editions of 1607, 1609, and 1611 displaying a complete working-over with much additional material.[2] This new material, at least in part, is almost certainly based on Garnier's *Antoine* or on Lady Pembroke's translation.[3]

In his dedication, Daniel promised "other musique in this higher straine"; but when he turned to drama again in 1605, the vogue had decreased,[4] and, in spite of his protests, his own allegiance appears to have weakened somewhat. The material of *Philotas* is not French, and no source for the play has come to light. The usual Senecan form and spirit are maintained, however, with some variations. There are sixteen characters in the play, and no monologue is introduced. The choruses occupy only about one-sixteenth of the extent of the play, and except for that of the second act, are in heroic verse.

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[1] Lester, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
[2] Daniel, *Works*, ed. Grosart, iii. 31.
[3] Lester, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
[4] Epistle dedicatory, *Works*, ed. Grosart, iii. 102.

About this time Thomas Kyd contributed to the Senecan vogue a translation of Garnier's *Cornélie*, under the title, *Pompey the Great, his faire Corneliaes Tragedie*. This appeared in 1594. There is a theory, based on an extremely questionable identification of Kyd with an "upstart noverint" criticized in Greene's *Menaphon*, which would place the composition of Kyd's tragedy before 1589; but it hardly deserves consideration here.[1] The translation is dedicated to the Countess of Sussex, the aunt of Lady Pembroke. Kyd complains of the "bitter times and privie broken passions" he has endured in writing it, and promises that his "passing of a Winters weeke with desolate Cornelia" shall be followed by a "Sommers better travell with the Tragedy of Portia." The natural inference is that Kyd, at a low ebb of fortune, knew of the successful translation by Lady Pembroke and her desire to encourage the vogue, and used this means of gaining her patronage, by voluntary contribution to her pet project. The attempt was a failure, however. The supposed second edition of *Cornelia* has been shown to have been only a reissue of unsold copies, with changed title-page;[1] and the promised translation of Garnier's *Porcie,* so far as we know, never came to light. It is not fair to account for this failure by a decline of interest in these classic tragedies, for the numerous editions of Daniel's play show that this decline came much later. It would seem more probable that the audience for which Lady Pembroke and Daniel were writing resented this attempt of Kyd to break into the circle, while his usual public had no taste for such efforts. The statement in William Clerke's *Polimanteia,* 1595, appears to bear this out: "Cornelia's Tragedy, however not respected, was excellently well done."[2]

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[1] Cf. Thos. Kyd, *Cornelia*, ed. Gassner, p. iv.

The tragedies of Fulke Greville, upon closer investigation of their date, fit much more accurately into the general movement than is ordinarily supposed. Greville's own testimony, in his *Life of Sidney,* fixes the time of writing considerably earlier than 1608–1609, the date commonly assigned because quarto editions are known to have existed then.[3] He states specifically that the treatises which were to be his choruses were written in his youth;[4] and that, in emulation of Sidney's method, he was accustomed to steal minutes of time from his daily services and "employ them in this kind of writings" — referring to the tragedies.[1] More explicit still are his statements regarding the destroyed tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra:* "Lastly, concerning the tragedies themselves, they were in their first creation three: whereof Antonie and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions in forsaking empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed in the fire. The executioner, the author himselfe. Not that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother to the rest; but lest while he seemed to looke over-much upward, hee might stumble into the astronomer's pit."[2] Thus we are informed that the "executed" play was the latest of the three. Immediately he goes on to explain that the drama appeared dangerous to him and to his friends, "many members in that creature . . . having some childish wantonnesse in them, apt enough to be construed or strained to a personating of vices in the present governors and government."

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[1] Cf. Thos. Kyd, *Cornelia,* ed. Gassner, p. iv.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. iv.
[3] Cf. Luce, *op. cit.,* p. 49.
[4] *Life of Sidney,* ed. Grosart, p. 151.

After noting the poetic fondness for sudden metamorphoses in human affairs, he continues: "And again in the practice of the world, seeing the like instance not poetically but really fashioned in the Earle of Essex, then falling; and even till then worthily beloved, both of Queen and people; this sudden descent of a greatnesse, together with the quality of the actors in every scene, stir'd up the Author's second thoughts, to bee careful — in his owne case — of leaving faire weather behind him." Obviously this latest of the three tragedies was destroyed about the time of the fall of the Earl of Essex, 1601. If the three productions were composed in stolen minutes, the inception of the plan would thus be thrown well forward to a time soon after Daniel's first success. The immediate sources of these plays are not known.

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[1] *Life of Sidney,* ed. cit., p. 150.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 155.

From the author's own explanation, the purpose of his writing was preëminently didactic. Material such as that embodied in his *Treatises on Monarchy and Religion*,[1] was to be presented to the public; and to make this more vital it was to form the choruses of tragedies — the tragic action being only a means to this supposedly higher end.[2] Though the temperament of the author may have hastened the process, this is only a natural working out of the Senecan vogue brought so prominently to Greville's attention. The choruses of the French writers and their English followers, while participating more or less in the action, lost no opportunity to moralize on the situations. Sententious wisdom confronted the reader or hearer at every turn. Greville, apparently with the acquiescence of his coterie,[3] merely changed the method of approach and wrote the play to fit the preaching. In their general structure, *Alaham* and *Mustapha* make good their relationship to the group under consideration. They appear to run to a greater number of scenes, but stage presentation was never in the author's mind.[1] That the choruses are not lyric is to be expected from the importance they had for him as representing his longer didactic treatises. One wonders if Greville is thinking of Lady Pembroke and her influential position when he apologizes for some of his female characters: "I presumed, or rather it escaped me, to make my images beyond the ordinary stature of excesse, wherein again that women are predominant, is not for malice or ill talent to their sexe. . . ."[2] At any rate, the long and intimate relation of Fulke Greville to the Sidneys and their friends, and the close resemblance of these plays to the rest of the group, are points enough, in the absence of contradictory evidence, to indicate that he conformed to the French influence dominating Lady Pembroke's circle.[3]

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[1] *Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. i.

[2] *Life of Sidney*, pp. 150, 220.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 155: "by the opinion of these few eyes, which saw it."

The Tragicomedie of the Vertuous Octavia, by Samuel Brandon, appeared in 1598, dedicated to Lady Lucia Audlay. It has the form and spirit of the later Senecan drama and concerns itself with the omnipresent Antony, this time in the earlier period of his life. There seems to be no evidence of any direct influence of Lady Pembroke and her circle.

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[1] *Life of Sidney*, p. 223.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[3] Bounin's *La Soltane* is concerned with the execution of Mustapha.

The last group of plays offers at least some interesting possibilities. Their author, William Alexander, appears to have begun the series under an independent line of continental influence, while still a resident of Scotland. King James, with whom Alexander was closely associated in literary matters, had studied in youth under Buchanan, the author of classical tragedies in Latin, and had his tastes turned in that direction. He had always had access to a large assortment of French literature,[1] and drew upon it freely in his own attempts.[2] His personal regard for Du Bartas and interest in the Frenchman's work reacted of course upon his courtiers.[3] As has been noted, Alexander followed James to England, and as a gentleman of Prince Henry's chamber had every opportunity for contact with Lady Pembroke and her literary friends.

In 1604 Alexander's *Darius* was published in London, together with *Crœsus*, under the title *Monarchicke Tragedies. The Alexandrean*

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[1] Cf. *The Library of James VI. of Scotland*, ed. G. F. Warner, Edin., 1893.

[2] In the preface of his *Reulis and Cautelis*, in 1595, James says: "I have lykewayis ommittit dyvers figures, quhilkis are necessare to be usit in verse, for two causis. The ane is, because they are usit in all languages, and thairfore are spoken of be Du Bellay, and sindrie utheris, quha hes written in this airt." — ed. Arber, p. 54.

[3] Cf. chap. iv. for the relation of both James and Alexander to Du Bartas.

Tragedy appeared alone in 1605, and *Julius Cæsar*, accompanied by the three earlier plays, was published in 1607, the title *Monarchicke Tragedies* being employed for this volume also. Dr. Lester has gone source-hunting for these dramas, with only moderate success. The *Daire* of Jacques de la Taille, printed posthumously by his brother Jean in 1572, bears some general resemblance to *Darius*, but only enough to run both plays back to a probable common source in Quintus Curtius, though Alexander may well have been familiar with the French play. For *Crœsus* and the *Alexandrean Tragedy* no sources have been found. Jacques de la Taille did indeed write an *Alexander*, published in 1573, but it is only the ghost of Alexander that gives the name to the English play. By a series of parallels, however, Dr. Lester is able to establish a strong probability that the *Julius Cæsar* was modeled on the well-known *César* of Jacques Grévin and enlarged. The additions indicate some indebtedness to Kyd's *Cornelia*. In all four plays there are the stylistic peculiarities that have characterized both the French and the English groups. The didactic element is especially strong throughout, to an extent that at once suggests Greville's dramas, and along the same lines of thought that he emphasized.[1] In view of this there arises the probability of a new significance in the title *Monarchicke Tragedies*, used first by Alexander in 1604 and again in 1607. For Greville the didactic material of his choruses had to do with the temptations and mistakes of monarchs, and was indeed embodied, probably before 1603, in a separate long poem entitled *Treatises of Monarchy.* There is every reason that Alexander and the members of Lady Pembroke's circle, with their unusual coincidence of tastes and training, should have become well acquainted almost immediately upon the Scotchman's arrival. From any member of the coterie Alexander might have learned of Greville's didactic attempts, still timorously avoiding publication. The outspoken nature that would dare a *Parænesis*, emboldened by a feeling of security in the new king's good will, would immediately have been encouraged to further publication by this kinship of ideas with a man so much respected as Fulke Greville. The term "Monarchicke Tragedies" would be a natural result. That the importance of Alexander was quickly recognized and his further plans known to Samuel Daniel, is shown by the dedication of *Philotas*, in 1605, "to the Prince."[1]

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[1] Note the same line of thought embodied in Alexander's *Parænesis*, printed 1604.

With Alexander the creative efforts of this little English Senecan school ceased. The Countess of Pembroke and her following apparently had done their best to carry out, in one genre at least, the ideals of the reform movement started as far back as 1580. That this dramatic venture remains a mere excrescence on the history of English literature is due to no lack of zeal or coöperation on their part. For a time it did assume considerable prominence among certain classes, and it would be impossible to say how large a part it played in bringing regularity into English dramatic structure. As regards its relations to the corresponding line of French drama subsequent to the Pléiade, the case has been put as fairly as possible. In some instances there has been avowed translation; in others there has been an accumulation of parallels pointing with great probability to immediate influence. The product of both movements shows a remarkable identity in all the essentials of its thought and structure. The possibility of direct impulse from Seneca has not entered seriously into the discussion, nor have the Latin tragedies of scholars been considered as an immediate influence. Another uncertainty in the question arises from the fact that Italy, throughout the sixteenth century, was doing this same kind of dramatic work, and to a great extent influenced the form and spirit of the French tragedy. The strength of the claim for French influence in this English dramatic vogue, however, lies primarily in the accumulation of evidence confirming the loyal coöperation of these playwrights with the Countess of Pembroke, whose model was avowedly French; as well as in the indications already presented, that in various matters of practical reform this English group had from its inception been accustomed to look to the example of France. Two questions await more detailed consideration, before the importance of this literary circle ceases: one, the extent to which English writers, turning like the disciples of the Pléiade from classic ideals to the exploitation of Italian sonnets, drew directly upon France for their inspiration; the other, the influence in England of the poetry of Du Bartas, in its original form and in the localized translation of Sylvester.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 43.

CHAPTER III

THE ELIZABETHAN SONNET

IN the list of new genres prescribed for French poets in the manifesto of the Pléiade, in 1549, prominent mention was made of the sonnet, a "non moins docte que plaisante invention italienne," which was to be modeled upon "Petrarque et quelques modernes Italiens." This was not the first introduction of the sonnet to French soil, nor did Du Bellay represent it as such. In his second preface to the *Olive*,[1] a year later, he ascribes to Melin de Saint-Gelais the distinction of importing this form, and later criticism is inclined to confirm this.[2] Clément Marot, however, was certainly not far behind Saint-Gelais in the undertaking; and several other French poets, including Scève, Peletier, and Margaret of Navarre herself, had anticipated the Pléiade reform in this regard.[1]

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[1] *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, i. 72.

[2] The question is summed up by Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, i. 152–153. He notes that of the nineteen sonnets of Saint-Gelais which have been published, nine were not written before 1544, one was written in 1540, one certainly later than 1533, and another not earlier than 1531. The remaining eight cannot be dated. Two sonnets by Marot were printed in the 1538 edition of his works, and one of these, by a reference it contains, shows that it was written not later than May 1, 1532. Saint-Gelais is known to have spent some time in Italy, and may well have had sonnets in manuscript circulation before Marot wrote any.

Pléiade sonneteering was no less enthusiastic and extensive by reason of this anticipation. With common impulse the members applied themselves promptly and diligently to an imitation, more or less digestive, of the still accumulating mass of Italian models. Before this impulse had worked itself out at the end of the century, the output of sonnets in France was large indeed. Ronsard's various "*Amours*" and sonnets number more than nine hundred; Du Bellay's *Olive* and *Regrets* amount to over three hundred; while among the later men Desportes stands out with another three hundred to his credit. The sonnet, alien and imitative as it was, became immensely popular. As in Italy, there was feminine influence to encourage it, and the cult of Platonism had already blended with it beyond the Alps. It kept all the well-worn conventionalities of thought, and trafficked with the familiar tricks of style. It sold itself to flattery for material gain, degraded itself to the celebration of unworthy passions, reacted at times even into moral and religious fervor; in short, it reproduced, with the modifications due to environment, the history of its somewhat earlier development at home.

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[1] Maurice Scève approached the sonnet very closely in his series of four hundred and forty-nine Platonic dizains, under the title *Delie, objet de la plus haute vertu,* in 1544. Two sonnets by him appeared in the *Marguerites de la Marguerite,* 1547, which also contained a sonnet by Margaret herself. Scève was strongly influenced by the conceits of Serafino dell' Aquila and his immediate predecessors. Peletier, in 1547, published a volume of poems containing twelve sonnets translated from Petrarch. A later volume, published in 1555, contained ninety-six sonnets.

Before even an attempt is made at the still more complicated problem of French and Italian influence upon the English sonnet, it is desirable to summarize, at least, these modifications on French soil, in order to establish — apart from the conventionalized material — as unified a conception as possible of that far from homogeneous product, the sonnet in France. These characteristics do not lend themselves readily to systematic arrangement, as they extend from matters of mechanical detail to such general considerations of spirit and imaginative vigor as rest only on the impression drawn from wide reading. Neither are they characteristics which Italy had not already anticipated in her sonneteering; but are rather those qualities or tendencies previously manifest at certain points in the Italian development, and seized upon and magnified by certain of the French poets until they assumed a new importance, even helping to give character to the product.

Thus, in the Petrarchistic revival led by Bembo, there was among certain poets a tireless effort after the dignity and polish of rhetorical elegance, paralleling the prose ideals of the earlier Ciceronians. This rhetorical standard, especially pleasing to the French genius, was in excellent harmony with fundamental doctrines of the Pléiade. Ronsard, the complacent champion of a polished and elevated style, first turned instinctively to the models where this characteristic appeared, and then developed it to an extent that has individualized his work. To a less degree this rhetorical polish is visible in the work of his associates. Closely allied to this quality, especially in Ronsard again, appears a vigor and vividness of imagination, which at times completely revitalizes some borrowed bit of conventional description, and throughout whole series of *Amours* imparts a convincing sense of reality of feeling and intensity of passion. Desportes also possesses this power, when he is not trammeled by the abundant conceits of his preferred models.

Both these men, as well as certain of the lesser artists, allowed their lyric efforts to be affected by such matters of environment as their own material needs and the degraded practices of a corrupt court. Sonnets of lavish flattery to possible patrons were common enough in Italy; where indeed social conditions were such that a Tullia d'Aragona could pose as a leader in the Petrarchan cult. In France, however, the accepted masters of the sonnet vogue devoted no small amount of their talents to such necessities, flattering an undeserving nobility, assisting with their verse the numerous amours of royalty, and even celebrating the creatures of still lower passions. Ronsard's first book of *Hymnes*, 1555, was so full of systematic soliciting of patronage that Pasquier remonstrated with him regarding it.[1] Amadis Jamyn wrote sonnets to assist Charles IX. in a love suit, and did honor in verse to the *mignons* of Henry III. Desportes was of particular assistance to Henry while that monarch, then the Duke of Anjou, was seeking the favors of Renée de Rieux, "la belle Châteauneuf," and contributed sonnet after sonnet to the undertaking. Henry retained the poet in his service after his coronation; so that Desportes, like Jamyn and Ronsard, was called upon to do honor to the *mignons*, and managed to profit by their favor. It is not surprising that such activities as these reacted somewhat upon the whole literary product of the poets concerned, and operated in harmony with their frequent changes in the personnel of favorites to give their work a somewhat hard and selfish tone of worldliness.

This effect is perhaps heightened by another French characteristic, for which Italy had prepared the way. The Pléiade movement, as has been seen, made much of the Greek and Latin models which vernacular poets were to imitate. In actual practice, the lyric poets appear to have been only fairly true to this ideal, interspersing many imitations of Greek and especially of Latin poets among their works, but drawing their inspiration and often their material for these directly from the Italian.[1] The French poets did receive much immediate direction from Greek and Latin, however. The popularity of Anacreon, or of the works attributed to him, is attested by the enthusiastic reception accorded to the edition of these poems by Henri Estienne in 1554, and to the translation of them by Remy Belleau in 1556, as well as by the numerous indications of their influence in the poetry of that period. Among the Latins, Catullus, Tibullus, and Ovid were freely drawn upon. Not only did the form and spirit of these poets appear prominently in French odes, madrigals, elegies, and the like during the sixteenth century; but the sonnets also of French poets were considerably affected by this spirit, with its frank joy in sensuous delight, its tenderness and playfulness, its insistence on the "Carpe diem" motive. Except for the fact of French familiarity with the Greek and Latin authors, all this might well have been drawn from Italian sources; for Cariteo and Ariosto had both gone for inspiration to similar sources, and Serafino, avowedly sensual, had preached "Carpe diem" to a long succession of mistresses. Perhaps it is safer to say that the French poets, enlarging upon Italian example, had gone freely to the Greek and Latin for models.

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[1] Cf. Ronsard, *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, i, p. xxxviii.

The religious reaction, manifest in the later history of the French sonnet, was also a further development, under new conditions, of an Italian prototype. The renewed religious activity of Italy, as displayed in the Council of Trent, while it turned creative artists to religious thoughts, also produced a fashion of spiritualizing the secular literature already popular.[1] This process was applied to the *Decameron*, to the *Orlando Furioso*, and, naturally enough, to the work of Petrarch. In 1536 appeared the *Petrarca Spirituale* of Malipieri; and long before its popularity had waned,[2] Salvatorino had completed, in 1547, his *Tesauro di Sacra Scrittura*, developed from the *Rime* of Petrarch. When this tendency to employ the sonnet for religious purposes reached France, it found itself in new company; for the zealous Protestant spirit there was willing enough to utilize an outgrowth of the Catholic Reaction, when such outgrowth was so thoroughly in harmony with Protestant desires. Thus there appeared, in the decline of the Pléiade movement, the spectacle of the Catholic courtier Desportes reveling in the extravagant conceits of his *Amours* in seasons of good fortune, and turning during illness or depression to sonnets of religious devotion, into which he did not always avoid introducing his characteristic tricks of style; while contemporary with him the Huguenot Du Bartas was sounding the call of Urania to those who would employ verse in God's service, and minor poets, like Jacques de Billy, were busying themselves with "spiritual sonnets" of sincere devotion. After a consideration of the religious activities of those who dominated the sonnet literature in England at the end of the century, it becomes apparent enough which of these impulses was to dominate there.

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[1] *E.g.* the influence upon Du Bellay and Ronsard of Alamanni's *Opere Toscane.* Cf. H. Hauvette, *Luigi Alamanni, sa vie et son œuvre,* Paris, 1903.

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[1] Cf. A. Graf, *Attraverso il cinquecento*, p. 77 *sq.*, and Dejob, *L'Influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts*, Paris, 1884.

[2] There were ten editions of the *Petrarca Spirituale* by the end of the century.

Some points remain to be noted regarding the developments given in France to the form of the sonnet. Following the later Italians, French poets had a particular fondness for emphasis at the conclusion of the quatorzain, together with the presence of epigram. Ronsard, especially, showed a fondness also for a certain rhyme scheme in the sestette.[1] The hendecasyllabic metre of Italy was not so easy for the French vocabulary, so that the ten-syllable verse prevailed in the sonnets of France. Baïf, however, included six sonnets in Alexandrines in his *Amours de Méline,* in 1552, and Ronsard began employing this type of verse at almost the same time. Ronsard, indeed, became the champion of the Alexandrine in France,[2] employing it in most of the *Amours de Marie* and *Sonnets pour Hélène,* as well as in many hymns. Baïf continued to use the verse, and Du Bellay adopted it for his *Regrets*. The French poets, while by no means innovators, gave final conventionality to the fashion of designating by fanciful names the mistresses they addressed, and allowing these names to serve as titles for their sonnet collections. Thus Ronsard's sonnets appeared as *Amours de Cassandre, Amours de Marie*, and *Sonnets pour Hélène;* Baïf's as *Amours de Méline* and *Amours de Francine;* and Desportes's as *Amours de Diane* and *Amours de Cléonice;* while Scève celebrated "*Délie*" and Claude de Ponteux, "*L'Idée*." The element of originality in this practice, though slight, is perhaps the stronger because so much of the Italian sonnet material came into French hands in the shape of miscellaneous collections, drawn from the work of large numbers of poets, of varying talents and ideals.[1]

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[1] Cf. note, *infra,* p. 111.

[2] In his Preface to the *Franciade,* Ronsard speaks of Alexandrines, "lesquels vers j'ay remis le premier en honeur." — *Œuvres,* ed. Marty-Laveaux, iii. 516.

After all, however, the French sonnet of the sixteenth century is largely a product imitated from the Italians; so largely, indeed, that the able scholars of several countries are still concerning themselves with the problem of its indebtedness, and are continually bringing to light new lines of relationship.[2] If this matter is somewhat entangled, a far more intricate complication is presented in the development of the English sonnet. In any particular English collection, there may be borrowings direct from Petrarch or from any one of his numerous groups of Italian imitators, most of whom were well known to the English poets. There may be indebtedness to French sonneteers who have modeled more or less closely upon Petrarch or his imitators. As the vogue progresses, there may even be dependence on the work of other Englishmen. At any point a thought or quotation from the classics may have played its part in creating or transforming a group of lines. Above all, there is the question of individual

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[1] Cf. J. Vianey, "Les sources italiennes de l'Olive," in *Annales internationales d'histoire comparée*, 1901, for a discussion of Du Bellay's indebtedness to the *Rime diverse di molti eccellenti autori*, published 1545–1550.

[2] Among important books and articles of recent date bearing upon this subject, the following may be noted: —

M. Piéri, *Le Pétrarquisme au XVI^e siècle; Pétrarque et Ronsard*, Marseilles, 1896.

M. H. Vaganay, *Le Sonnet en Italie et en France au seizième siècle Essai de bibliographie comparée,* Lyon, 1902–1903.

Max Jasinski, *Histoire du sonnet en France,* 1903. (Reviewed by René Doumic in *Revue des deux mondes,* March 15, 1904.)

Henri Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay,* Lille, 1900. (Reviewed by J. Vianey in *Revue d'hist. litt.,* viii. 151 *sq.*)

E. S. Ingraham, *The Sources of Les Amours de J. A. de Baïf,* Univ. of Penn. dissertation, 1905.

J. Vianey, "Les sources italiennes de l'Olive," in *Annales internationales d'histoire comparée,* 1901; "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," in *Bulletin italien,* 1901; "L'influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade," in *Bull. ital.,* 1903; "Un Modèle de Desportes non signalé encore: Pamphilo Sasso," in *Revue d'hist. litt.,* 1903; "La part de l'imitation dans les Regrets," in *Bull. ital.,* 1904.

F. Flamini, *Studi di Storia letteraria,* Livorno, 1895 (p. 346 *sq.,* and appendix, p. 433 *sq.,* "I Plagi di P. Desportes"); "Di alcune imitazioni italiane nei poeti francesi del Cinquecento," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale,* Rome, 1903.

creative genius, which from a field of wide reading gathers, blends, adapts, and amplifies, until often there is left only a trace of some conventional thought or figure, so that identification of source is impossible. A bungling workman like Soothern, or a careless and irresponsible one like Lodge, will translate almost slavishly from his originals. A creative mind, like that of Sidney or Shakespeare, appropriates freely from all sources, and yet the result has the distinctive vitality of an original production. Two conclusions follow from these considerations. A slight resemblance in thought or even in expression between an English sonnet and some particular French or Italian product does not necessarily argue indebtedness at this point until the whole field of possible sources has been considered, and perhaps not then. On the other hand, for the best men of the group, when once a congenial acquaintance is established with a set of possible models, it is reasonably safe to suppose an indebtedness, along broader and more general lines, larger than any detailed collection of parallels would represent. On this account, particular instances of close resemblance will be used freely in this chapter, but with no disposition to exaggerate their real importance.[1]

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[1] The most valuable collection of this sort of data is found in Sidney Lee's Introduction to the *Elizabethan Sonnets*, in the *New English Garner*. Further details appear in two articles by L. E. Kastner, in the *Athenæum* for October 22 and 29, 1904; in a dissertation by Max Maiberger, *Studien über den Einfluss Frankreichs an der*

Emphasis should be given to the thought that, in dealing with Italian sources in particular, even the most obscure poets may have to be reckoned with as immediate models, the reason being that England, like France, had access to numerous miscellaneous collections of these poems all during the period of her own activity. For this reason alone there is nothing surprising in the fact that at one time, when Gabriel Harvey seeks to pay a compliment to George Gascoigne, he does so by comparing him with the apparently obscure Italian, Ercole Strozza: —

> "Gascoignus solus, seipsum cum Hercule
> Strozza comparat, homine Italo
> Eodemque viro generoso ac poeta nobili." [1]

All investigation, moreover, tends to confirm a very considerable detailed knowledge of

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Elizabethan Litteratur; Die Lyrik in d. 2. Halfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts, München, 1903. Special studies include: E. Koeppel's treatment of Sidney's sonnets in his "Studien zur Geschichte des engl. Petrarchismus im 16. Jahrh.," in *Roman. Forschungen*, v. 65 *sq.;* Joseph Guggenheimer, *Quellen-studien zu Samuel Daniels Delia*, 1898; O. Hoffman, "Studien zu Alex. Montgomery," *Englische Studien*, xx. 24 *sq.;* and W. C. Ward's notes to his edition of William Drummond's poems. P. Borghesi, *Petrarch and his Influence on English Literature*, 1905, is too puerile a work to deserve serious attention. Italian works of value are: Carlo Segré, *Studi Petrarcheschi*, Florence, 1903 (contains article on Wyatt and Surrey); I. Zocco, *Petrarchismo e Petrarchisti in Inghilterra*, Palermo, 1906.

[1] Harvey, *Letter Book*, ed. cit., p. 55. Noted by Lee, Introd. to *Elizabethan Sonnets*, ed. cit., i. p. xxxviii.

Italian literature among the educated people of Elizabethan England.

The sonnet first came to England direct from Italy, fully as early as it was introduced into France. Wyatt and Surrey, influenced particularly by the sonnet writing of Serafino and his group at the close of the *quattrocento*, had domesticated the form in somewhat crude fashion,[1] Surrey emphasizing the concluding epigram toward which his models were tending, and strengthening it by a rhyme scheme evolved perhaps from the Italian strambotti, and marked by a final couplet. This final couplet was destined to become a distinctive feature of the Elizabethan sonnet. After the sonnets of Wyatt and Surrey were printed, in 1557, in *Tottel's Miscellany*, the genre, while by no means lost sight of, experienced no real development in England until it was taken up by members of the Areopagus circle especially, as a part of the general exploitation of the vernacular as a medium for poetic expression. In connection with that movement French influence began to be manifest. Before 1580 Spenser alone had, if appearances may be trusted, rendered French sonnets into English verse, and thus brought them into the literature, in the *Theatre for Worldlings*, already discussed.[2]

During the interval between *Tottel's Mis-*

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[1] It should be remembered that Chaucer had worked over the 88th sonnet of Petrarch as the "Song of Troilus," in *Troilus and Cressida*, bk. i. ll. 400–420.

[2] *Supra*, p. 44.

cellany and the real vogue of English sonnet writing, England was kept in touch with French literature by acquaintance with at least one poet, Clément Marot. Barnabe Googe shows indebtedness to him in his *Eclogues*, in 1563. Spenser, or whoever the contributor was, appears to have gone to him for the "Visions of Petrarch" in the *Theatre for Worldlings*. *The Shepheardes Calendar* drew upon him for at least two eclogues. Besides, there are several references in the literature of the period that suggest a large measure of influence.

In some introductory verses to Gascoigne's *Posies*, 1575, the author has occasion to speak of the immoral tendencies of certain well-known literary works. In the midst of his remarks he declares: "And let not Marot's Alyx passe without impeache of crime."[1] *The Mirror for Magistrates* appeared in 1578, with a surprisingly sweeping statement. In the Introduction to the "Complaint of Sigebert," the conventional invective against rhyme takes this form: ". . . it [the use of rhyme] also made a great inequalitee to be betwixt Phaer and Virgill, betwixt Turbervile and Tibullus, betwixt Golding and Ovid, betwixt George Gascon and Seneca; for all these coming neare unto Marot, whom they did imitate, did put a great distance betwixt them and the Latines, wyth whom they might have binne equall."[2] Humphrey Gifford's *Posie of Gilliflowers*, 1589, bears more substantial testimony to the knowledge of Marot. Among its miscellaneous contents appears an English poem with the title: "One that had a frowarde husbande makes complaynt to her mother. Written in French by Clement Marott." [1]

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[1] Ed. Hazlitt, 1869, i. 31.

[2] Ed. Joseph Haslewood, i. 426.

At the threshold of the sonnet vogue in England there appears a work of unusual significance, because it portrays so distinctly the range of material ready at the hand of an English sonnet-maker of good education, and the methods really underlying much of this sort of composition, according as the writer was more or less imaginative. The work in question is the *Hecatompathia or Passionate Century of Love*, by Thomas Watson, published in 1582.[2] It consists of a hundred poems (three in Latin), few of them in sonnet form, most of them having eighteen lines. But we know that they are modeled on sonnets, most of them Italian, with an occasional one in French; for some one, presumably the poet, has carefully indicated in notes the sources drawn upon for many of these poems, and even the detail of the method used in adapting these sources. As estimated from such authentic statements, "eight sonnets are renderings from Petrarch, twelve are from Serafino dell' Aquila; four each from Ercole Strozza (of Ferrara) and from Ronsard; three from the Italian poet Agnolo Firenzuola; two each from the French poet Étienne Forcadel, the Italian Girolamo Parabosco, and Æneas Silvius; while many are based on passages from such authors as (among the Greeks) Sophocles, Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes; or (among the Latins) Vergil, Tibullus, Ovid, Horace, Propertius, Seneca, Pliny, Lucan, Martial, and Valerius Flaccus; or (among the modern Italians) Angelo Poliziano and Baptista Mantuanus; or (among other modern Frenchmen) Gervasius Sepinus of Saumur."[1]

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[1] Ed. Grosart, p. 117. This work contains two other acknowledged translations from the French, one a short poem on p. 137, the other a prose "Supplication presented by John Meschinot Esquire unto the Duke of Brittane his Lorde and Master," p. 49.

[2] Watson's "Booke of Passionate Sonnetes" was circulating in manuscript as early as 1580. Cf. Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 428.

All this does not imply that Watson was a particularly learned man. He merely has kept track pedantically of as many of his sources as possible, and has been at great pains to tell us all about them. Early in his career he had busied himself with translating the sonnets of Petrarch into Latin, and three years later he rendered Tasso's *Aminta* into Latin hexameters. Of two commendatory poems prefixed to his works, one — an English quatorzain — proclaims him freely as a second Petrarch;[2] the other, a Latin "ode," has him carry on the world-old tradition of poetry and represent for England what Ronsard does for France.[1] Whatever immediate impulse came to Watson from France, however, he was entirely independent of the Areopagus circle. The references to him found in their works, though full of commendation, all date ten years later than his sonnet collection. As late as 1587, indeed, Abraham Fraunce, Areopagus camp-follower, appropriated Watson's Latin version of *Aminta*, turned it into English, and published it without acknowledgment, a thing he would hardly have ventured upon if Watson had been of the inner circle.[2]

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[1] Quoted from Lee, Introd. to *Eliz. Sonnets*, i. p. xxxix, note. In reading Watson, one finds many more traces of Petrarch than he has indicated.

[2] Arber, *English Reprints*, vii. 33.

Among the poets of the Areopagus group, Sidney easily took the lead in the enthusiastic attempt to nationalize the sonnet. Not only do his efforts excel in power of conception and skill of phrasing; he alone of the group has given any expression of the ideas held by himself and his fellows regarding this literary form. The expression, however, is disappointing in its brevity. Early in the *Defense of Poesy*, when Sidney refers to the "special denominations" of poetry, he abides by the old division into three genres, so that the term "lyric" is used to embrace both sonnet and ode.[3] Later on, however, when he takes up the defects in the English poetry of his day, his statements are far more explicit:—

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35. There is a letter from John Lyly prefixed to Watson's *Passionate Century*. This would suggest Watson's connection with Lyly and his Italianate circle.

[2] Another collection of poems by Watson, *The Teares of Fancy, or Love Disdained*, was published posthumously in 1593. Italian influence is prominent in it.

[3] *Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, *English Reprints*, London, 1868, p. 45.

> "Other sorts of poetry almost have we none, but that lyrical kind of songs and sonnets, which, Lord if he gave us so good minds, how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruits both private and public, singing the praises of the immortal beauty, the immortal goodness of that God who giveth us hands to write, and wits to conceive! . . . But truly, many of such writings as come under the banner of unresistable love, if I were a mistress would never persuade me they were in love; so coldly they apply fiery speeches, as men that had rather read lovers' writings, and so caught up certain swelling phrases . . . than that in truth they feel those passions, which easily, as I think, may be bewrayed by the same forcibleness, or *energia* (as the Greeks call it) of the writer."[1]

From this paragraph the indication is clear that, at the time the *Defense* was written, the sonnet was a recognized subject for experiment among English poets. It must be remembered, however, that in this period the term "sonnet" was applied freely to brief love lyrics, with various verse forms. Sidney's critical advice at this point is of material significance, anticipating two characteristic lines of sonnet development for England. The first half of the paragraph, with a touch of Sidney's Platonism in it, urges English poets to turn their thoughts to the religious themes already adopted into the literature of Catholic Italy, and interesting Protestants and a few Catholics in France. The latter part is a plea for convincing reality in sonnet composition, the revitalizing of an already overworked form.

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[1] *Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. cit., p. 67.

In Sidney's own sonnet sequence, the *Astrophel and Stella,* he has managed to secure a great deal of the sincerity of tone for which he pleaded. He has infused much originality into his verses. This, of course, is rarely an originality of theme, situation, or metaphor. Such things are practically out of the question. Even when he proclaims boldly, in his seventy-fourth Sonnet, —

> "And this I swear by blackest brooke of hell,
> I am no pickpurse of another's wit," —

he is merely handing down the tradition of Italian anti-Petrarchists of a few decades earlier, who professed to write sonnets in the manner of Petrarch without plagiarizing him.[1] Sidney's method of procedure with these conventional details was eclectic in the better sense. In fact it must have been almost unconsciously so, thus separating him from the painstaking worker in mosaics on the one hand, and the easy-going translator on the other, and rendering him the despair of all source-hunters. The freshness and vigor of imagination, to be found at times in Desportes and more generally in Ronsard, was Sidney's characteristic quality, and with it he effected the transformations that give to

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[1] Cf. on this matter the letters of Niccolo Franco, quoted by Arturo Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento,* p. 48 *sq.*

Astrophel and Stella the appearance of a thing apart, — the spontaneous utterance of a deeply emotional lover. With this quality he combined an independence of spirit as well as of method that strikes one frequently throughout the series. Like Ronsard, he was little affected by the extravagances of Italian *concettismo*, but cultivated the polished simplicity of Petrarch and the school of Bembo.[1] The Platonic doctrines, also, play an important part in his verses.

Like Ronsard and his fellows again, Sidney was considerably drawn to the models furnished by Greek and Latin lyrists. There is little influence of these in *Astrophel and Stella*, except perhaps in the little group of sonnets concerned with Stella's kiss.[2] The *Arcadia*, however, has much poetry of this sort scattered through it, including even some of Sidney's early exercises in classic metres. It must be kept in mind that regard for Greek models was an important part of Pléiade theory, and that Sidney's friend, Henri Estienne, was a devoted champion of the Greek.

Sidney reveals his independence even in the structure of his sonnets. He keeps the double quatrain consistently, but departs from the English couplet at least a score of times, and frequently diversifies the rhymes in the preceding four lines, so that he obtains the effect of a double tercet.[1] The Alexandrine verse, which Ronsard and Baïf had used considerably in France, is employed by Sidney in various of his sonnets and in two of the songs that accompany the series. There is perhaps little in all this to establish French influence in Sidney's lyrics; but in view of his actual acquaintance with Ronsard, and his general familiarity with French models, there is strong probability that the Pléiade poets were somewhat effective in turning his efforts in the direction noted.

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[1] Many of the motives and figures of Petrarch's poetry may be discovered in Sidney. Cf. Koeppel's article, *Roman. Forschungen*, v. 65 *sq.*

[2] Nos. 79, 80, 81.

The *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets, while not printed until 1591, were of course written sometime before 1586, and experienced a considerable period of manuscript circulation. To about the same time with them, then, belongs John Soothern's verse collection *Pandora*, in 1584. Of all crude, blind specimens of servile imitation in sonnet history, this is perhaps the worst. Soothern merely acknowledges a general obligation to Ronsard, and then includes in his doggerel translation the very eulogies of his model on Henry II. of France, transferring their application to his own patron. When Ronsard boasts of his sources, the English poet calmly makes this boast his own. In an age when plagiarism was not a grievous fault, except in the charges of one's enemies, Puttenham has found Soothern's method of procedure too flagrant to escape censure. In the *Arte of English Poesie* he declares:—

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[1] In eight sonnets Sidney uses the rhyme scheme a b b a a b b a c c d e e d, the favorite structure of Ronsard. Cf. J. Schipper, *Neuenglische Metrik*, ii. 2, 849.

> "Another of reasonable good facilitie in translation finding certain of the hymnes of Pyndarus and of Anacreon's odes, and other Lirickes among the Greekes very well translated by Rounsard the French Poet, and applied to the honour of a great prince in France, comes our minion and translates the same out of French into English, and applieth them to the honour of a great noble man in England . . . but doth so impudently robbe the French Poet both of his prayse and also of his French termes, that I cannot so much pitie him as be angry with him for his iniurious dealing — our said maker not being ashamed to use these French wordes *freddon*, *egar*, *superbous*, *filanding*, *celest*, *calabrois*, *thebanois*, and a number of others, for English words. . . . And in the end (which is worst of all) makes his vaunt that never English finger but his hath toucht Pindar's string, which was nevertheless word by word as Rounsard had said before by like braggery."[1]

It should be noted that Puttenham speaks only of Ronsard's renderings from the Greek, giving particular emphasis to his odes.

There was no further publication of English sonnets in collections until after 1591. In the interim poets generally were growing more familiar with continental models, but their creative efforts were confined to single specimens of the type, not venturing upon the connected series. Immediately after Sidney's sequence was in print, the great wave of English sonneteering began its movement, and then it was that the influence of France was most manifest. In part, no doubt, this was due to the fact that men were less careful just at this time to add their own creative power to what they appropriated, and so conceal the traces of their borrowing. But it indicates as well that these particular men had studied the sonnet series carefully in the forms produced by the French poets and were influenced accordingly.[1] Daniel, Constable, and Lodge, the three men whose work was first made public, were by no means ignorant of Italian poetry in its various forms. Daniel appended two translations from the Italian to his sonnet series,[2] and Lodge was constantly adapting Italian poetry with or without acknowledgment. But the work of each of them presents sonnets which parallel so closely certain sonnets in the French that some degree of dependence is unquestionable. In the case of Daniel and Constable there is also the question of sequence title; for the French custom of grouping sonnets under the fanciful name of the mistress now became operative. Daniel's *Delia* very probably takes its name from Maurice Scève's series of dizains, *Delie, objet de la plus haute vertu,* with its Platonic obscurity,[1] while Constable's *Diana* at once suggests Desportes's *Amours de Diane,* which in some cases he undoubtedly used as a model.

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[1] Ed. Arber, *English Reprints*, London, 1869, vii. 259 *sq.* Collier (*Bibl. Cat.*, ed. 1865, ii. 367) has shown conclusively that the passage is a reference to Soothern's work.

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[1] Cf. p. 124, the statement of Lodge in 1596 that Desportes's writings, in English form, are common property.

[2] One of these is a literal rendering (unacknowledged) of the Golden Age chorus in Tasso's *Aminta;* the other, "The Description of Beauty," is described as translated out of Marino.

The high position held by Daniel in the regard of Lady Pembroke, his close relations with other members of the Sidney-Spenser circle, and his interest in their numerous literary ventures, particularly the classic drama on French models, have been discussed at length in the preceding chapter. As noted there, twenty-eight of Daniel's sonnets were published in 1591, with the first edition of *Astrophel and Stella.* The year following, he embodied these in his complete collection, *Delia,* dedicated to Lady Pembroke. In view of the apparently close friendship between poet and patroness, and the aspirations which the countess seems to have had toward actual coterie leadership, there is considerable ground for the belief that the Delia of these sonnets was in reality Lady Pembroke herself. The melancholy and somewhat obsequious tone throughout the series would belong naturally to such a situation, and the Platonic element appearing occasionally would have been very pleasing to the sister of Sidney. Attempts to read such significance into Daniel's own statements are of course dangerous. The prose dedication of the sonnets is free from any suggestion of the kind. A dedicatory sonnet, which accompanied the edition of 1594, while it addresses Lady Pembroke as "patroness," contains some lines at least uncertain enough in their meaning to deserve quoting:—

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[1] J. Guggenheimer, *Quellenstudien zu Samuel Daniels Delia,* Berlin, 1898, would derive the name from the heroine of Tibullus's first book of Elegies.

"Wonder of these, glory of other times,
O thou whom Envy ev'n is forst t' admyre:
Great Patroness of these my humble Rhymes,
Which thou from out thy greatnes doost inspire
Sith onely thou hast deigned to rayse them higher,
Vouchsafe now to accept them as thine owne,
Begotten by thy hand and my desire,
Wherein my zeale and thy great might is showne."

Among the sonnets themselves there is one addressed "To M. P.," in which it does not seem improbable that Daniel addressed Mary, Countess of Pembroke, herself. The lines bewail the fate of the writer, who

"Like as the spotlesse Ermelin distrest,
Circumpast'd round with filth and lothsome mud,"

finds his spirit prevented by poverty from seeking the happiness it craves. There is at least good reason to believe that Daniel's friends recognized Lady Pembroke under the title of the sonnets; for the dedication of Thomas Watson's *Amintæ Gaudia* to the Countess, in 1592, addressed her:—

"Laurigera stirpe prognata Delia."

Daniel draws with great freedom upon the conventional sonnet motives of the continent, displaying an artistic skill in adaptation, and instilling an element of personal emotion that place him near the rank of Sidney. There are certain of his sonnets, however, that are little better than line-for-line versions of corresponding sonnets by Desportes; and strangely enough these develop some of the most familiar motives in the whole field of the sonnet, such conventionalized subjects as The Lady's Mirror, The Flight of Time, and an Address to Sleep. The "mirror" sonnet will illustrate the situation. The first specimen of this sort was a sonnet by Petrarch, in the first part of his *Rime,* and read as follows: —

> "Il mio avversario, in cui veder solete
> Gli occhi vostri, ch' Amore e 'l Ciel onora;
> Con le non sue bellezze v' innamora,
> Piu che 'n guisa mortal, soavi et liete.
> Per consiglio di lui, Donna, m' avete
> Scacciato del mio dolce albergo fora;
> Misero esilio! avvegnach' io non fora
> D' abitar degno, ora voi sola siete.
> Ma s' io v' era con saldi chiovi fisso,
> Non devea specchio farvi per mio danno,
> A voi stessa piacendo, aspra e superba.
> Certo, se vi rimembra di Narcisso,
> Questo e quel corso ad un termino vanno:
> Benchè di si bel fior sia indegna l' erba."

At the close of the fifteenth century, the idea of the lady's mirror formed the basis of a series of strambotti, developed by Serafino dell' Aquila with all his favorite tricks of style;

and after circulating among the various poets, the theme was finally utilized by Desportes in the following sonnet: —

"Pourquoy si folement croyez-vous à un verre,
Voulant voir les beautez que vous avez des cieux?
Mirez-vous dessus moy pour les connoistre mieux,
Et voyez de quels traits vostre bel œil m'enferre.
Un vieux chesne ou un pin, renversez contre terre,
Monstrent combien le vent est grand et furieux:
Aussi vous connoistrez le pouvoir de vos yeux,
Voyant par quels efforts vous me faites la guerre.
Ma mort de vos beautez vous doit bien asseurer,
Joint que vous ne pouvez sans peril vous mirer:
Narcisse devint fleur d'avoir veu sa figure.
Craignez doncques, madame, un semblable danger,
Non de devenir fleur, mais de vous voir changer,
Par vostre œil de Méduse, en quelque roche dure."[1]

This is the sonnet which Daniel renders so literally, getting the result that follows: —

"Why doost thou Delia credit so thy glasse,
Gazing thy beauty deign'd thee by the skies:
And doest not rather looke on him (alas)
Whose state best shewes the force of murdering eies?
The broken tops of lofty trees declare
The fury of a mercy-wanting storme;
And of what force thy wounding graces are,
Upon my selfe thou best mayst finde the forme.
Then leave thy glasse, and gaze thy selfe on me,
That mirror shewes what power is in thy face:
To view your forme too much, may danger bee,
Narcissus chang'd t'a flower in such a case.
And you are chang'd, but not t'a Hiacint;
I feare your eye hath turnd your heart to flint."[2]

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[1] *Amours d'Hippolyte*, 18; Desportes, *Œuvres*, ed. Michiels, Paris, 1858, p. 122.

[2] *Delia*, 37; Daniel, *Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 61.

Just as literal a method was employed by Daniel in appropriating Desportes's sonnet on The Flight of Time;[1] and the familiar

"Care-charmer sleep, son of the sable night"

is only a little less slavish in its dependence on the French poet.[2] Two other sonnets of Daniel are freer renderings from Desportes.[3] There is no reason to infer from these examples either discipleship or customary method. The sonnets Daniel has made use of are not characteristic of the manner of Desportes, and this manner is little manifest throughout the *Delia.* The reasonable conclusion is that Daniel knew Desportes's work, that he had no particular sympathy with its style, but that he felt perfect freedom in drawing from it, for convenience, the detailed inspiration of a few of his sonnets.

While there is no particular reason to associate Daniel's sonnets with those of Du Bellay, there is some indication that, drawn by his friendship with Spenser, Daniel went to this particular French poet for the impulse of two of his sonnets. Du Bellay had spent some years of his life in Italy, and out of his sojourn there had grown two sonnet collections, *Les Antiquitez de Rome* and the *Regrets.* The first of these, celebrating the transitory nature of human affairs, furnished the inspiration for several divisions of Spenser's *Complaints*, published in 1591. The second was the poet's lament for the delights of his native land, from which he was for the time separated. Reflecting the first of these is the forty-fifth sonnet of Daniel's collection, referring apparently to an experience of the author in Rome.

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[1] *Delia,* 38; *Amours de Cléonice,* 62.

[2] *Delia,* 54; *Amours d'Hippolyte,* 75.

[3] *Delia,* 9; *Amours de Diane,* i. 29; and *Delia,* 15; *Amours de Diane,* i. 8.

"Delia, these eyes that so admireth thine,
  Have seene those walls which proud ambition rear'd
  To check the world, how they intomb'd have lien
  Within themselves, and on them ploughs have ear'd.
Yet never found that barbarous hand attaind
  The spoyle of fame deserv'd by vertuous men:
  Whose glorious actions luckily had gaind
  Th' eternall Annals of a happy pen.
And therefore grieve not if thy beauties die,
  Though time do spoyle thee of the fairest vaile
  That ever yet covered mortality,
  And must instarre the Needle, and the Raile,
That Grace which doth more then in Woman thee,
Lives in my lines, and must eternall bee."

The fiftieth sonnet of the series, represented as "made in Italy," corresponds to the serious spirit of the *Regrets*. Both these sonnets might have found inspiration enough among the Italians,[1] and the relation does not involve much. In fact, for Daniel, French influence in the sonnets can be regarded as only an incidental matter after all. It is probable that he was much more vitally indebted to the Italian poets. There is interesting external evidence of this in the second part of the *Return from Parnassus,* where Judicio "censures" Daniel thus:—

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[1] Pamphilo Sasso, for example, wrote on the theme of separation from his lady. Cf. J. Vianey, in *Bull. Ital.*, iv. 35.

> "Sweete hony dropping Daniell doth wage
> Warre with the proudest big Italian,
> That melts his heart in sugred sonneting.
> Onely let him more sparingly make use
> Of others wit, and use his owne the more:
> That well may scorn base imitation."

Apparently it was Edmund Spenser, in particular, who was impressed by Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome.* This involves attributing to Spenser the *Complaints* published as his in 1591, and not questioned at that time. Of the nine divisions in this collection, four are more or less indebted to the *Antiquitez:* (1) The Ruins of Time; (5) The Ruins of Rome by Bellay; (7) Visions of the World's Vanity; (8) The Visions of Bellay. The "Ruins of Rome" and "Visions of Bellay" are fairly literal adaptations, the latter being based on the last fifteen sonnets in Du Bellay's collection, which he had entitled the "Songe ou Vision sur Rome." The other divisions mentioned reproduce the spirit of Du Bellay's verse and show various resemblances in detail. Both the *Antiquitez* and Spenser's renderings approach the spirit of the love-lyric only in so far as the decay of worldly things often afforded the love-poets a setting for a Platonic revery on the immortality of beauty, a conventional prayer that their verses might confer undying fame, or perhaps an Epicurean revel in the "Carpe diem" motive. Spenser was drawn seriously and naturally to this poetry of ruins, prompted by a conception of Platonism similar to that which the Italian Ficino had taught. The tone of melancholy it involves is often present in his work and was bequeathed to his disciples. For how much of it he is indebted to Du Bellay it would be hard to tell. The fact remains that the *Antiquitez* afforded him a model which tempted him for a time at least away from Fairyland.

In the work of Thomas Lodge, direct indebtedness to French sonnet writers, particularly Desportes and Ronsard, reached its height. Drawing with perfect freedom upon all the poetry available, Lodge probably found these French lyrics easy of access and well fitted to his purpose, and appropriated them, as usual, without compunction. This borrowing from the French began at least as early as 1589, and perhaps considerably earlier.[1] It appears in as many as five poems scattered through *Scilla's Metamorphosis,* in that year; in five more in the *Rosalynde*, the year following; and once in the *History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy*, in 1591. With such experience, it is little wonder that Lodge felt equal to a sonnet sequence, his *Phillis*, which appeared in 1593. This is a small series of only forty sonnets, but no less than eleven of these are clearly appropriated, — three from Desportes and the remainder from Ronsard.[1] It should also be borne in mind that Lodge contributed an eight-line poem in French to Greene's *Spanish Masquerado*, 1589, and published in his own *Life and Death of William Longbeard*, 1593, a twenty-line poem, an "imitation of a sonnet in an ancient French poet."[1]

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[1] F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Lyrics,* p. 212, says in a note to the poem, "The earth, late choked with showers," from Lodge's *Scilla's Metamorphosis,* 1589: "The first line of 'Glaucus and Scilla,' the chief poem of the volume . . . fixes the date — of that poem at least — as prior to Lodge's departure from Cambridge, 1577: —

'Walking alone — all lonely full of grief —
Within a thicket near the Isis' flood . . .'"

Schelling notes further that in his dedication Lodge promises his friend better poetical fare "next term."

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[1] It may be well to summarize these various borrowings by Lodge, with the names of the critics who have noted the resemblances: —

I. In *Scilla's Metamorphosis* (1589).
   1. In praise of the countrey life (ed. Hunterian Club, p. 34). From Desportes, Opening Chanson of *Bergeries*. Noted by Kastner.
   2. "I will become a Hermit now" (p. 43). From Desportes, *Diane*, ii. 8. Noted by Kastner.
   3. "Wearie am I to wearie Gods and men" (p. 44). From Desportes, Complainte at end of *Bergeries*. Noted by Kastner.
   4. "If that I seek the shades I suddenly do see" (p. 44). From Desportes, *Diane*, ii. 3. Noted by Lee, Maiberger, and A. H. Bullen (*Lyrics from Eliz. Romances*, pp. 166–7).
   5. "The earth late choked with flowers" (p. 46). From Desportes, *Diane*, ii. "Complainte" preceding sonnet 29. Noted by numerous critics.

II. In *Rosalynde* (1590).
   1. Montanus's French song (p. 101) (see above). Noted by Lee.
   2. "Turn I my looks unto the skies" (p. 74). From Desportes, *Diane*, ii. 3. Noted by Lee, Maiberger, and Bullen (*op. cit.*, pp. 166–7).
   3. Saladyne's sonnet (p. 109). From Desportes, *Diane*, i. 41. Noted by Kastner.
   4. Phœbe's Sonetto (p. 117). From Desportes, *Diane*, i. 68. Noted by Kastner.
   5. "First shall the heavens want starry light"

(p. 38). From Desportes, *Diane*, i. 68. Noted by Bullen (*op. cit.*, pp. x–xi.).

III. In *History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy* (1591).
  1. (Cf. son. 38, *Phillis*) (p. 25). From Desportes, *Diane*, i. 34. Noted by Maiberger.

IV. In *Phillis* (1593).
  1. Sonnet 36. From Desportes, *Diane*, ii. 3. Noted by Lee, Maiberger, and Bullen (*op. cit.*, pp. 166–7).
  2. Sonnet 37. From Desportes, *Diane*, i. 49. Noted by Lee and Kastner.
  3. Sonnet 38. From Desportes, *Diane*, i. 34. Noted by Kastner.
  4. Sonnet 9. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 94. Noted by Lee and Kastner.
  5. Sonnet 22. In part from Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 183. Kastner.
  6. Sonnet 30. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 131. Noted by Lee and Kastner.
  7. Sonnet 31. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 119. Lee.
  8. Sonnet 32. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 22. Lee, Kastner, and Maiberger.
  9. Sonnet 33. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 32. Lee and Kastner.
  10. Sonnet 34. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 20. Lee and Kastner.
  11. Sonnet 35. From Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 12. Lee, Kastner, and Maiberger.

[1] Ed. Hunterian Club, 1883, ii. 19 *sq.* Mention should be made in this connection of two poems with French refrains, appearing in Greene's romances. One is a complaint of Venus to Adonis, in *Never Too Late*

By 1590, as it appears, Lodge's obligations to Ronsard were widely enough known to give point to an elaborately conceived jest at his expense. In that year appeared *Tarleton's News out of Purgatory*, probably by Thomas Nash. The author represents the shade of Ronsard reading from manuscript some of his own verses. These the author quotes in full; "because," he says, "his [Ronsard's] stile is not common, nor have I heard our English poets write in that vaine." But the verses in question turn out to be a ridiculous parody on the "sonnet" of Montanus, in Lodge's *Rosalynde* just published, and the point is obvious. As regards Lodge's attitude toward Desportes, he has himself supplied some interesting information in a much-quoted passage in *A Margarite of America* (1596): " . . . Few men are able to second the sweete conceites of Philip du Portes whose poeticall writings being alreadie for the most part englished and ordinarilie in everie man's hands. . . ."[1] This, it will be seen, is testimony tending to establish a general acquaintance with Desportes, even extending, by way of translations, to those unable to read French. No English translations of Desportes and no further suggestions of them have come down to us. Michael Drayton, though, is probably making a general

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(1590), the other is Mullidor's Madrigal in *Francesco's Fortunes* (1590). Both poems are printed in Bullen's *Lyrics from Elizabethan Romances*, pp. 24 and 32.

[1] Ed. J. O. Halliwell, London, 1859, p. 116.

statement rather than merely aiming a thrust at Lodge, when he declares of himself in the introductory sonnet to the edition of *Idea*, published in 1594:—

. . . "I wrong not other men,
Nor traffique further than thys happy clyme,
Nor filch from Portes, nor from Petrarch's pen,
A fault too common in thys latter tyme."[1]

The use Lodge makes of his borrowed sonnet material is so various that it is difficult to generalize on the actual influence which his French models had upon him. In fact, one doubts if they had any influence except to facilitate his literary efforts by providing plenty of material ready at hand. The very fact that he drew with equal freedom from Desportes and

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[1] Some further corroboration of English knowledge of Desportes about this time is available. In the *Phœnix Nest*, a miscellany published in 1593, there are two lyrics from Desportes. The first stanza of the poem beginning, "O Night, O jealous Night, repugnant to my measures (Bullen, *op. cit.*, pp. x and 68), is from the opening of a sonnet in the *Diverses Amours*, "O Nuit, jalouse Nuit, contre moi conjurée," etc. The poem beginning, "Those eyes that set my fancy on a fire," represents *Diane*, i. 11. It was reprinted in Barley's *New Book of Tabliture*, in 1596. Another popular sonnet of Desportes was *Diane*, i. 32 (Bullen, *op. cit.*, p. 222), which appeared as the fifteenth sonnet in Spenser's *Amoretti*, 1595, and also inspired a sonnet in the collection *Emaricdulfe*," by E. C., in the same year, and a poem in Wilbye's *Madrigals* as late as 1598. Grosart, in his edition of Breton's works, i. p. lxvi, notes that a sonnet by Breton "Of his Mistress' Love," in *Arbor of Amorous Devices*, also Griffin's *Fidessa*, sonnet 57, are both from Desportes's "Un jour, l'aveugle Amour, Diane et ma maistresse" (*Diane*, i. 15).

Ronsard indicates a rather easy adaptability in his tastes. It appears, however, that he really preferred the more elaborate conceits of Desportes, for most of his borrowings from that author are characteristic products, while from Ronsard he takes rather those less like the norm and more in the manner of Desportes.

While his versions follow the originals very closely, Lodge was by nature the poet of the madrigal rather than of the sonnet, and usually managed to introduce something of the tone he preferred. Often he changed the verse structure entirely, as in the case of the third sonnet of the second part of Desportes's *Amours de Diane.* This he introduced in his prose work, once as a sonnet, once in another type of verse, and finally reconstructed as the thirty-sixth sonnet of his *Phillis.* Desportes's version reads: —

"Si je me siez à l'ombre, aussi soudainement
Amour, laissant son arc, s'assied et se repose;
Si je pense à des vers, je le voy qui compose;
Si je plains mes douleurs, il se plaint hautement.
Si je me plais au mal, il accroist mon tourment;
Si je respan des pleurs, son visage il arrose;
Si je monstre ma playe, en ma poitrine enclose,
Il defait son bandeau, l'essuyant doucement.
Si je vais par les bois, aux bois il m'accompagne.
Si je me suis cruel, dans mon sang il se bagne,
Si je vais à la guerre, il devient mon soldart,
Si je passe la nuict, il conduit ma nacelle;
Bref, jamais l'importun de moy ne se depart,
Pour rendre mon desir et ma peine eternelle."

This is introduced by Lodge in his *Rosalynde,* with a verse-structure entirely free from complications.

"Turne I my lookes unto the Skies,
Love with his arrowes wounds mine eies:
If so I gaze upon the ground,
Love then in everie flower is found,
Search I the shade to flie my paine,
He meetes me in the shade againe:
Wend I to walke in secrete grove,
Even there I meete with sacred Love.
If so I bayne me in the spring,
Even on the brinke I heare him sing:
If so I meditate alone,
He will be partner of my moane.
If so I mourn, he weepes with mee,
And where I am, there will he bee. . . ."

The sonnet which he finally introduced into *Phillis* reads as follows:—

"If so I seek the shades, I presently do see
The god of love forsakes his bow and sit me by;
If that I think to write, his Muses pliant be,
If so I plain my grief, the wanton boy will cry.
If I lament his pride, he doth increase my pain;
If tears my cheeks attaint, his cheeks are moist with moan;
If I disclose the wounds the which my heart hath slain,
He takes his fascia off, and wipes them dry anon.
If so I walk the woods, the woods are his delight;
If I myself torment, he bathes him in my blood;
He will my soldier be if once I wend to fight,
If seas delight, he steers my bark amidst the flood.
In brief, the cruel god doth never from me go,
But makes my lasting love eternal with my woe."

Thoroughly in keeping with Lodge's liking for the conceits of Desportes is his tendency, especially in dealing with Ronsard, to embellish the French author's descriptions with new flowers of his own devising. The one hundred and thirty-first sonnet from the first book of Ronsard's *Amours* reads thus: —

> "Je parangonne à ta jeune beauté,
> Qui toujours dure, en son printemps nouvelle,
> Ce mois d'avril qui ses fleurs renouvelle,
> En sa plus gaye et verte nouveauté.
> Loin devant toy s'enfuit la cruauté,
> Devant luy fuit la saison plus cruelle;
> Il est tout beau, ta face est toute belle;
> Ferme est son cours, ferme est ta loyauté.
> Il peint les bois, les forests et les plaines,
> Tu peins mes vers d'un bel émail de fleurs;
> Des laboureurs il arrose les peines,
> D'un vain espoir tu laves mes douleurs;
> Du ciel sur l'herbe il fait tomber les pleurs,
> Tu fais sortir de mes yeux deux fontaines."

In Lodge's hand it becomes as follows, in the thirtieth sonnet of his *Phillis*: —

> "I do compare unto thy youthly clear,
> Which always bides within thy flow'ring prime,
> The month of April, that bedews our clime
> With pleasant flowers, when as his showers appear.
> Before thy face shall fly false cruelty,
> Before his face the doly season fleets;
> Mild been his looks, thine eyes are full of sweets;
> Firm is his course, firm is thy loyalty.
> He paints the fields through liquid crystal showers,
> Thou paint'st my verse with Pallas' learnèd flowers;
> With Zephirus' sweet breath he fills the plains,
> And thou my heart with weeping sighs dost wring;
> His brows are dewed with morning's crystal spring,
> Thou mak'st my eyes with tears bemoan my pains."

On the whole, Lodge's style is bright and vivacious, combining vigor, sweetness, and a sense of reality. His decorations and metaphors, even when elaborate, do not seem heavy. He appears to have much in common with Desportes, and even in his care-free borrowing from convenient sources probably received further impetus from the French poet in the direction where natural tastes were already drawing him. If nothing else, he illustrates the intimate acquaintance of English poets with Ronsard and Desportes at this period.

The sonnets of Henry Constable and Barnabe Barnes are best considered together, for both men, in a similar way, are rich in suggestion of the later developments in this vogue in the various countries. Just as in Italy and France the final extravagances and figurative excesses of sonnet composition were attended by the serious employment of the form, with many of its conventions, in the service of religious themes, so it happened in England. Both lines of development were present, and sometimes, as with Desportes in France, in the work of the same men. This is the combination represented by Constable and Barnes. There is the usual difficulty in determining how far they were affected by French influence and with what results. Constable was certainly exposed considerably to such influence, for not long after obtaining a degree from Cambridge in 1580, he became a Roman Catholic and went to Paris to live, remaining there until the accession of James. His sonnets, both amorous and religious, were written there and circulated in England by his friends, under whose direction the *Diana* was published in 1592. Another edition, two years later, contained a sonnet by Richard Smith the publisher, which has characterized the *Diana* sonnets for all time. It is addressed to two ladies: —

> "You twofold charities, celestial lights,
> Bow your sun-rising eyes, planets of joy,
> Upon these orphan poems; in whose rights
> Conceit first claimed his birthright to enjoy."

Whatever meaning Mr. Smith may have intended for the word, "conceit" is certainly a distinguishing feature of the *Diana*. There is also considerable variation in metre and rhyme, the final couplet being several times avoided. The suspicion is, however, that, although Constable was probably familiar enough with the Italians, much of this quality he obtained direct from Desportes. The title of the series is apparently drawn from the *Amours de Diane*. Two sonnets at least are almost literal renderings from Desportes, one of these being the familiar motive handed down from Petrarch: —

> "Unhappy day, unhappy month and season . . ."[1]

The other parallel is even closer, as will be seen by comparison.[2] The original is the twenty-sixth in the first book of Desportes's *Diane*.

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[1] *Diana*, sonnet 8, decade 6, from Desportes, *Amours de Diane*, i. 47.

[2] These resemblances are both noted in Lee, *op. cit.*

"Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime ma deesse
Et de son chef les tresors précieux!
Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime ses beaux yeux,
Dont l'un m'est doux, l'autre plein de rudesse!
Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime la sagesse
De ses discours, qui raviroient les Dieux,
Et la douceur de son ris gracieux,
Et de son port la royale hautesse!
Mon Dieu! que j'aime à me ressouvenir
Du tans qu'Amour me fist serf devenir!
Toujours depuis j'adore mon servage.
Mon mal me plaist plus il est violant;
Un feu si beau m'égaye en me brûlant,
Et la rigueur est douce en son visage."

The English rendering of this appears as the tenth sonnet of the sixth decade.

"My God, my God, how much I love my goddess,
Whose virtues rare, unto the heavens arise!
My God, my God, how much I love her eyes
One shining bright, the other full of hardness!
My God, my God, how much I love her wisdom,
Whose works may ravish heaven's richest maker!
Of whose eyes' joys if I might be partaker
Then to my soul a holy rest would come.
My God, how much I love to hear her speak!
Whose hands I kiss and ravished oft rekisseth,
When she stands wotless whom so much she blesseth,
Say then, what mind this honest love would break;
Since her perfections pure, withouten blot,
Makes her beloved of thee, she knoweth not?"

The fact remains that these sonnets which Constable obviously drew from Desportes are scarcely in the extravagant vein at all, thus indicating the presence of other models. It is probable, though, that Constable's sixteen *Spir-*

ituall Sonnets were prompted by the example of Desportes. Their author was a Catholic like the French poet; and they also were composed during that sojourn in France, thus being entirely independent of the Protestant religious current that passed from France into England under the encouragement of the Sidneys. These sonnets as such have no particular significance. But they are serious and devout, and were counted by Constable among his best work.

In Barnes's collection, *Parthenophil and Parthenophe,* there is no end to the vagaries. Apparently he had power and originality, but was sadly lacking in restraint. He was a good friend of Harvey, and was near enough to Lady Pembroke to address her, in a sonnet accompanying his collection, as —

"Pride of our English Ladies! never matched!
Great Favourer of Phœbus' offspring!
In whom, even Phœbus is most flourishing!
Muse's chief comfort! Of the Muses, hatched!"

He is supposed to have gone to France with the Earl of Essex in 1591, and there is no evidence of his return before 1595. The preface to his *Spirituall Sonnets* represents them as written in France in 1594. *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* was published in England in 1593, but friends may have managed this in his case also.

No single model or group of models will account for his peculiarities. He has an abrupt exclamatory style that often becomes almost incoherent. He is fond of unpoetic figures, such as those from law and from astronomy. In some sonnets, and especially in his accompanying lyrics, the mood is the warmer one of the Greek and Latin poets. Indeed he makes several attempts at classic metres in his longer poems. Many sonnets have fifteen lines, and his rhyme schemes reveal every possible variation. His own suggestion of his models is found in a sonnet fairly characteristic of his style, the forty-fourth of his series.

"O dart and thunder! whose fierce violence
Surmounting Rhetoric's dart and thunder bolts,
Can never be set out in eloquence!
Whose might all metal's mass asunder moults!
Where be the famous Prophets of old Greece?
Those ancient Roman poets of account?
Musæus, who went for the Golden Fleece
With Jason, and did Hero's love recount!
And thou, sweet Naso, with the golden verse;
Whose lovely spirit nourished Cæsar's daughter!
And that sweet Tuscan, Petrarch, which did pierce
His Laura with Love Sonnets, when he caught her!
Where be all these? That all these might have taught her,
That Saints divine, are known Saints by their mercy!
And Saint-like beauty should not rage with pierce eye!"

The possibilities of French influence in the work of Barnes are about threefold. With his fondness for classic verse perhaps increased during the friendship with Harvey, he would have found much encouragement among the French poets toward the appreciation and imitation of the classic forms. Indeed it is possible, since he utilized many familiar classic themes, that he often followed French versions of these Greek and Latin lyrists.[1] Twelve sonnets of his collection, beginning with the thirty-second, make elaborate use of astronomy, comparing the progress of the lover's passion to the passage of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac. In 1588 the French poet Gilles Durant had published his *Stances du Zodiaque,* a poem of thirty-three six-line stanzas developing the same theme. This French poem did not serve Barnes as a model, but in all probability it gave him the idea and a good deal of inspiration.[2] The French poem was later paraphrased by Chapman under the title of "The Amourous Zodiac."

In the composition of Barnes's *Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets* there was certainly the presence of French influence. They were written in France, as the author declares; and circumstances indicate that they were produced partly under Protestant influence. In fact, the preface virtually announces the author as a disciple of the "Heavenly Muse" of Du Bartas. In his own words: "If any man feele in himselfe (by the secret fire of immortall Entheusiasme) the learned motions of strange and divine passions of spirite, let him refine and illuminate his numerous Muses with the most sacred splendor of the holy Ghost, and then he shall (with divine Salust the true learned frenche Poet) finde, that as humane furie maketh a man lesse than a man, and the very same with wilde unreasonable beastes: so divine rage and sacred instinct of a man maketh more then man, and leadeth him (from his base terrestriall estate) to walke above the starres with Angelles immortally."[1] The model of the *Divine Centurie* was probably the *Sonnets Spirituels* of the Abbé Jacques de Billy, published in 1573 and 1578, or some similar production. He is less likely to have drawn upon Desportes or upon any Italian work.

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[1] Lee, *op. cit.,* p. lxxviii, suggests in this connection Barnes's rendering of "The First Eidillion of Moschus describing Love." This had been worked over by various French poets, including Marot, Baïf, and Amadis Jamyn.

[2] Lee, *op. cit.,* p. lxxviii; also in *Modern Philology,* October, 1905.

In the hands of English Protestants, and under the encouragement of Lady Pembroke and her circle, this religious employment of the sonnet became the significant feature of its last days. The religious ideal of Du Bartas had much to do with this;[2] and the moral quatrains of the French poet Pibrac, translated by Sylvester and published with his version of Du Bartas, also played their part. It is significant of the confusion of Catholic Reaction and Protestant enthusiasm that these verses of Pibrac, who was not a Protestant and had even dared to write an apology for the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, should have been associated with the *Semaines* of Du Bartas, and read and admired by English Protestants for many years.[1]

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[1] Cf. Grosart, *Occasional Issues*, London, 1875, i. 160. Note that in 1593, in a letter to Gabriel Harvey, Barnes speaks of his Muse as one that honors "the Urany of Du Bartas." Grosart, *op. cit.*, i. p. xxvii.

[2] See chap. iv. Note that a number of those who imitated Du Bartas also tried their hands at religious sonnets.

The list of those who wrote religious sonnets in English is a large one, but deserves noting here, because much of the initial impulse for the fashion came to England from France. In 1597 appeared Henry Locke's *Sundrie Sonets of Christian Passions*, three hundred and twenty-eight in number. John Donne's *Holy Sonnets* were written before 1600, and *The Soul's Harmony*, by Nicholas Breton, belongs to 1602. Fulke Greville's *Cœlica* abruptly changes its tone at the eighty-fifth sonnet, and the remainder of the series is moral, even religious, in tone. As late as 1623 came Drummond's *Flowers of Sion*. Even before 1600 the composition of religious poetry, under both Protestant and Catholic inspiration, was so extensive in England as to call out the protest in Joseph Hall's *Vergidemiarum:*—

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[1] References to Pibrac are scattered over a long period of time. A letter from Prince Henry to the King, January 23, 161⁵/₆, quotes one of the quatrains (Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, ii. 34). The comedy *Lady Alimony*, printed 1659, contains this statement (act iii, sc. 6): —

. . . "Thou hast ta'en content
With as much freedom under strait restraint,
As Pibrack in his paradox express'd,
Inwardly cheer'd when outwardly distress'd."

As late as 1674, Rymer, in the preface of his translation of Rapin's *Reflections on Aristotle's Poetics*, suggests the possibility that Davenant modeled the stanza of Gondibert on Pibrac's *Quatrains*.

> "Hence, ye profane! mell not with holy things
> That Sion's Muse from Palestina brings."[1]

Among the English collections of regular love-sonnets, the *Licia* of Giles Fletcher, 1593, is of value to this study chiefly for the testimony, offered in the introduction, that English poets were accustomed to borrow from Italy, Spain, and France their best and choicest conceits,—a practice against which he protests.[2] Yet he is particularly anxious to make it known that he is not in love, but merely writing sonnets as poetical exercises; and the title page confesses that the work was done "to the imitation of the best Latin poets and others." Two fairly close parallels with Ronsard appear among his sonnets,—close enough to suggest that, though not materially influenced by that writer, Fletcher was willing to utilize his work for the sake of convenience, as so many English poets were doing at that time.[1]

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[1] *Infra*, p. 176.

[2] The preface "To the Reader" says: "This age is learnedly wise and faultless in this kind of making their wits known; thinking so basely of our base English, wherein thousands have travailed with such ill luck, that they deem themselves barbarous and the island barren, unless they have borrowed from Italy, Spain and France their best and choicest conceits. For my own part, I am of this mind, that our nation is so exquisite . . . that neither Italy, Spain nor France can go beyond us for exact invention."

The English sequences not yet considered would add little substantial information to the situation as already developed.[2] Three important collections must be mentioned, however. Drayton's *Idea's Mirrour, Amours and Quatorzains,* appeared in 1594, Spenser's *Amoretti* in 1595, and Shakespeare's *Sonnets* were written about this time, though not printed until 1609. In Drayton's work, the name "Idea" in the title at once attracts attention, with its suggestion of the collection of Claude de Ponteux. The name evidently was a favorite with Drayton, and he had used it the year before in *Idea; the Shepherd's Garland,* a collection of nine eclogues modeled on the *Shepheardes Calendar.* Of course the name was generally familiar, through its association with the Platonic philosophy. The possibility of French influence is strengthened by the terms "Amours" and "Quatorzains" in the sub-title, though these also were in common use in England. Part of Drayton's introductory sonnet has already been quoted,[3] with its denial of filching from Portes's or from Petrarch's pen. The sonnet concludes with the repetition of Sidney's declaration,

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[1] Sonnet 51 bears close resemblance to Ronsard, *Amours,* i. 32, already utilized by Lodge in the 32d sonnet of *Phillis.* (Noted by Lee.) Sonnet 52 parallels Ronsard, *Amours,* i. 54. (Noted by Maiberger.)

[2] There is a possible influence from Du Bartas in the sonnets of John Donne; see p. 178 *sq.*

[3] *Supra,* p. 125.

"I am no pickpurse of another's wit." Yet Drayton is of course as elaborate a borrower as any of the rest, gathering from various sources, but showing considerable skill in revivifying what he has obtained.

Drayton seems to be the closest disciple of Sidney in the virility and independence of his poetry, those features which probably came into England with a considerable impulse from the work of Ronsard, and in a minor degree of Desportes. As in Sidney's case this individuality is more than the conventional anti-Petrarchistic reaction against plagiarism, and is rather involved in the creative genius of the poet, which rises above empty imitation. Drayton's independence even extends to the emotions he portrays, as in the famous —

"Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part."

Of course such originality of tone should have no real need of foreign example to prompt it, and such example need not be assumed unless there is further evidence of association. In the case of Shakespeare, for instance, this revitalizing power is present to an extent far beyond that displayed by any of his predecessors. Inspiration for his sonnets probably came from various directions, but there are no means available by which his indebtedness can be traced. Spenser's *Amoretti* represent that poet on his Italian side, although the already familiar fondness for the conception of mortal decay is still present. There are some indications that he was willing to turn to French sources for a particular phrasing that appealed to him, as he did in his fifteenth sonnet, apparently modeled on Desportes.[1] The real inspiration of the series is Italian, however. No other sonnet collections of the later period rise to the eminence of those just considered, although the vogue extended well into the seventeenth century. Extensive experiments in the form were made by two other men connected with the Sidney-Spenser literary coterie, — Fulke Greville's *Cœlica,* before 1600, and Sir William Alexander's *Aurora,* published in 1604.[2] There is nothing in either of these that may be characterized as distinctly French. The same may be said of the love sonnets of William Drummond, who, in spite of his wide acquaintance with French literature, preferred the manner of Petrarch or of his latest Italian followers. The French sonnet writers, however, were still favorite reading in England at the opening of the seventeenth century, as is shown by the command of Amoretto in the second part of the *Return from Parnassus,* acted 1601–1602: "Sirrha boy, remember me when I come into Paules Churchyard to buy a Ronzard and Dubartas in french and Aretine in Italian, and our hardest writers in Spanish, they wil sharpen my witts gallantly."[1] Desportes was also in favor at this time, as shown by Gervase Markham's *Rodomonths Infernall, or The Divell Conquered,* translated from Desportes's French version of Ariosto. This translation was entered in 1598.

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[1] *Amours de Diane,* i. 32. As noted before, this is also the basis of a sonnet in *Emaricdulfe* and of a poem in Wilbye's *Madrigals.*

[2] Drummond distinctly speaks of Alexander as modeling his sonnets on those of Petrarch. (*Wks.,* ed. 1711, p. 226.)

There is one portion of Scotland's sonnet history which is of little importance in itself, but adds weight to the conviction that the influence of James VI., at least during his early years, was strongly in favor of imitation of the French. Indeed James himself made a few experiments with the sonnet, fifteen specimens being published in 1584, in a collection entitled *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie.*[2] There are no love sonnets in the group, twelve being invocations to the gods, and the others mere prologues and epilogues. Far more extensive was the work of one of the first of James's literary protégés, Alexander Montgomery, whose sonnets, written from time to time, number seventy in all. Of these less than a third involve the love theme, namely numbers thirty-nine to sixty-one, and number seventy, in the collected sonnets, published first in 1821 from the Drummond manuscript. Montgomery was already writing poetry in 1578, when he was transferred to the service of the new king James. A commendatory sonnet by him was published with James's translation of Du Bartas's *Uranie* in 1584, and three others in praise of this same translation appear in Montgomery's collected works. In 1586 he received permission to travel in France, Flanders, and Spain for five years. Soon after, his pension was cut off; and after considerable controversy it was restored to him in 1588. Eleven of the sonnets in the collection are concerned with this grievance. The love sonnets cannot be dated, but they are simply conventional exercises, directed at random to various mistresses. They have no individuality and display little original genius. At least seven of them are, wholly or in part, close translations from the *Amours* of Ronsard.[1] Besides, the miscellaneous poems of Montgomery abound in thoughts and expressions that have close parallels in various attempts of Ronsard's at the classic lyrics. A comparison from the sonnets will illustrate Montgomery's method.

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[1] Ed. W. D. Macray, Oxford, 1886, p. 121. In part i. p. 61, Gullio attempts a quotation from Ronsard. Part i. was written at least a year earlier.

[2] In Arber's *English Reprints,* vol. x.

1. Ronsard.

> "Heureuse fut l'estoille fortunée
> Qui d'un bon œil ma maistresse apperceut;

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[1] O. Hoffman, "Studien zu Alexander Montgomery," in *Eng. Stud.*, xx. 24 *sq.*, includes a detailed study of this indebtedness. The particulars are as follows: sonnet 39, from Ronsard, *Amours*, i. 89; sonnet 41, from *Amours*, ii. chanson following sonnet 62; sonnet 47, from *Amours*, i. 78; sonnet 50, from *Amours*, i. 137; sonnet 56, eight lines from *Amours*, i. 81; sonnet 57, eight lines from *Amours*, i. 1; sonnet 60, from *Amours*, ii. 56. Hoffman notes that several of these have Italian parallels also, but the resemblance to the French is so close as to indicate direct connection.

Heureux le bers et la main qui la sceut
Emmailloter le jour qu'elle fut née:
Heureuse fut la mammelle en-mannée
De qui le laict premier elle receut,
Et bien-heureux le ventre qui conceut
Si grand' beauté de si grands dons ornée!
Heureux les champs qui eurent cest honneur
De la voir naistre, et de qui le bon-heur
L'Inde et l'Egypte heureusement excelle!
Heureux le fils dont grosse elle sera,
Mais plus heureux celuy qui la fera
Et femme et mere, en lieu d'une pucelle!"[1]

2. Montgomery, fiftieth sonnet.

"O happy star, at evning and at morne,
Vhais bright aspect my maistres first out (fand);
O happy credle! and O happy hand
Vhich rockit hir the hour that sho wes b(orne!)
O happy pape, ye rather nectar hor(ne,)
First gaiv hir suck, in silver suedling band!
O happy wombe consavit had beforne
So brave a beutie, honour of our land!
O happy bounds, vher dayly yit scho duells,
Vhich Inde and Egypts happynes excells!
O happy bed vharin sho sall be laid!
O happy babe in belly sho sall breid!
Bot happyer he that hes that hap indeid
To mak both wyfe and mother of that (maid.)"

Such a study as this is far from complete or satisfactory. Such conclusions as it does beget are many of them concerned with matters of mood or impression; and the evidence that at first seemed most definite has produced little tangible result. There is no doubt that for a score or more of years the leading sonnet writers of the French Pléiade group were familiarly known to the literary public of England; and that the French sonnets, combining so many of the various Italian excellences, were drawn upon freely by the English poets as a convenient storehouse of ideas, metaphors, and tricks of style. At times these borrowings involved a discipleship: more often they did not. From France to England, however, came the general plan of grouping and publishing sonnets, as well as many of the titles applied to various collections. Ronsard in particular probably had somewhat to do with the increase of vital reality and of independent spirit displayed by men like Sidney and Drayton. The ideals and examples of the French were influential in encouraging the English tendency to model sonnets and other lyrics after the poetic manner of the Greeks and Latins. France anticipated England in the religious employment of the sonnet, and by the close relations of French Protestants with English literary leaders gave a strong impulse to consecrated lyric poetry in England. These general influences are supplemented by such instances of particular indebtedness as the use of Alexandrines by Sidney, the fondness for the poetry of ruins in Spenser, and the immediate impetus to conceits in style sometimes imparted by Desportes. Certainly in the rôle of an intermediary, France played no insignificant part in the story of the Elizabethan sonnet.

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[1] *Amours*, i. 137.

CHAPTER IV

Du Bartas

For many years the literature of the French Protestants confined itself chiefly to sermons, commentaries, and treatises, until finally the Gascon, Guillaume de Salluste, sieur du Bartas, a devoted adherent of this faith and at the same time a disciple of the rapidly declining Pléiade, was moved to combine his Huguenot enthusiasm with the trappings and machinery of the epic. In 1573, in a poem entitled *L'Uranie ou Muse Celeste*, the poet describes the supposed manner of his "calling" and repeats the words of this muse, whom he conceives of as appearing in his dreams. Her argument rests upon the Platonic notion of a poet's divine inspiration and peculiar separation from the world: this being the case, he should avoid profane subjects and sing only of holy things. Then comes her direct appeal: —

"Bien que cest argument semble une maigre lande,
Que les meilleurs esprits ont en friche laissé,
Ne sois pour l'avenir de ce travail lassé:
Car plus la gloire est rare, et tant plus elle est grande.

Saluste, ne perds cœur, si tu vois que l'Envie
Aille abbayant, maligne, apres ton los naissant:
Ne crain que sous ses pieds elle aille tapissant
Les vers que tu feras, comme indignes de vie."[1]

Du Bartas accepted the new responsibility, and his first venture in this line, showing the same peculiarities that characterized his later work, was the epic of *Judith*, based on Apochryphal story. This appeared in the same year, 1573. Five years later came a much more pretentious work, *La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde;* and in a short time, moved either by continued devotion or by the remarkable success of this venture, the author began work on a second *Semaine*, dividing into seven more great days the stretch of time from Creation to the Eternal Sabbath. Each of these days was to be divided into four parts, but only four days were completed when the work was published, in 1583.

Du Bartas recognized himself and was generally recognized by his public as a part of the Pléiade movement. By his own account he had from his youth followed the course charted by these propagandists, but had found pindaric, classic epic, and love verse alike unsatisfying. Although Du Bellay had nothing to say for religious subjects, Du Bartas felt a higher injunction, and gave to epic the same turn that Garnier and Montchrestien did to tragedy. He was content to comply with Pléiade formulas in most other respects. He was a consecrated poet, devoting his life to the epic treatment of a subject that certainly possessed epic dimensions. The pagan machinery of this type of poem, while it bothered him by its inconsistency, he was willing to keep in great part, after carefully absolving himself by explaining its convenience. In stylistic matters Du Bartas proved an especially ardent disciple; so much so, indeed, that his work, after a period of extreme popularity, became the chief weapon in the hands of reactionists because of its absurdities.[1] Ronsard himself began by praising him lavishly, and later, perhaps moved by ill-feeling toward a rival, disclaimed emphatically any allegiance with the Gascon.[2] The tricks of style gathered by Du Bartas from Pléiade doctrine included especially the use of compound words, supposed to be modeled on the Greek,[3] together with reduplications, imitative harmonies, dialect terms, old words, and various examples of *provignement*.[4] Figurative embellishment found ample favor in his sight, though he took no particular pains to keep the figures in good taste or restrain the metaphors to the region of pure poetic fancy.

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[1] Du Bartas, *La Judith,* ed. Paris, 1583, p. 130.

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[1] M. Morillot, in *Hist. de la langue et de la litt. franç.*, vol. iii., says, "L'auteur des Semaines passera toujours, à tort ou à raison, pour avoir été l'enfant terrible de la Pléiade."

[2] Cf. his sonnet to Jean D'Aurat, *Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain (Bibl. Elzév.), Paris, 1865, v. 348.

[3] A collection of "*Épithètes recueillis des Deux Sepmaines et autres œuvres poetiques de G. de Saluste*" appeared in France in 1596, and was attached as a supplement to the *Dictionnaire des Rimes Françaises* in that year.

[4] Ronsard explains the application of this botanical term to language in the preface to his *Franciade*, "Outreplus si les vieux mots abolis par d'usage ont laissé quelque rejetton, comme les branches des arbres couppez

To these characteristics Du Bartas added tendencies of his own preference. To the onomatopoetic effects he added a type of verbal repetition usually attended by word-play. His pages were often filled with lavish displays of encyclopedic knowledge, frequently arranged in the popular medieval catalogue form. The products of the various days of creation gave ample opportunity for such parade. At any point, the narrative might be broken and give way to a long digression, usually of a moralizing nature. Sometimes the author merely paused to add a bit of personal comment or explanation; again he cited contemporary events and people; and at times he burst forth into bitter and satirical invective against abuses in church or state. Whatever form these compositions of Du Bartas took, however, one trait was usually present: they were throughout their course dull, heavy, and emphatically unpoetic.

Despite their faults these poems made a prompt appeal to two great classes of readers: those still so enthusiastic in their stylistic experiments as to be blinded for the time to exaggeration and bad taste; and those so de-

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se rajeunissent de nouveaux drageons, tu le pourras provigner, amender et cultiver, afin qu'il se repeuple de nouveau." — *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1890, iii. 533.

voted to the Protestant faith that the Urania note was sufficient to give excellence to a poem. The preface, "Au Lecteur," in the 1583 edition of *La Semaine*, annotated by Simon Goulart de Senlis, begins with these words: —

> "Voyant l'œuvre du Sieur du Bartas sur la creation du monde si bien recueilli par toute la France, & de plusieurs estrangers qui entendent nostre langue, que c'est ici desia la vingtiesme edition depuis trois ans, je me suis confermé en l'opinion que i'ay tousjours eue d'un Poeme si excellent, c'est qu'il durera, estant de la marque de ces bons auteurs que le temps n'a peu aneantir, ains qui sont reverez & leus tous les jours, comme Homere, Virgile, & autres semblables."

Before a great while the people of England and Scotland seem to have been among those "plusieurs estrangers"; and soon, indeed, for those who did not understand the French language, translations in great number were provided.

The English people, strongly Protestant in their sympathies, were ready to extend cordial welcome to a work of this kind. It came in the midst of the great wave of religious literature, extending well into the seventeenth century, and resulting in part from the zeal of the Protestants, in part from the Catholic Reaction.[1] Since the beginning of Calvin's efforts, Protestant material had been pouring into England, including translations from all the great French leaders in that faith.[2] From Calvin himself more than twenty separate translations are recorded between 1556 and 1585, including, besides numerous sermons and commentaries, his *Institution of the Christian Religion.* Two works of Pierre Viret were translated about 1580; while English renderings of religious treatises and discussions by Jean de l'Espine, Théodore de Bèze, and Sidney's devoted friend, Duplessis-Mornay, were appearing throughout the last four decades of the sixteenth century. From the writings of the last-named, Sidney himself began the translation of one work, *La vérité de la religion chrestienne;* and another treatise, the *Discours de la vie et de la mort,* was translated by the Countess of Pembroke after her brother's death.[1]

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[1] *Supra* pp. 74-75, 97, 135 *sq.*

[2] See appendix A for details drawn upon for these statements.

Across the Channel Du Bartas's first open champion and translator was of royal blood, no less a personage than James VI. of Scotland. Being well read in French, young James soon had his attention attracted by this work of Du Bartas, and found it in both form and content very much to his liking. In his first collection of poems, *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie,* published at Edinburgh in 1584, James included a translation he had made of the *Uranie,* prefacing it with a commendatory notice. He says: —

"Having oft resolved, and red over (favorable Reader) the booke and Poems of the devine and Illuster Poete, *Salust du Bartas,* I was moved by the oft reading and perusing of them, with a restles and lofty desire, to preas to attaine to the like vertue. But sen (alas) God, by nature hathe refused me the like lofty and quick ingyne, and that my dull *Muse*, age, and Fortune, had refused me the like skill and learning, I was constrained to have refuge to the second, which was to doe what lay in me, to set forth his praise, sen I could not merite the lyke myself." [1]

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[1] *Supra,* pp. 51, 60 *sq.*

In 1589 Du Bartas visited Scotland on a diplomatic mission, and a warm personal friendship sprang up between him and James. In fact James was loath to have him return, desiring him to take service at the Scottish court; and on his departure dispatched to Henry of Navarre a letter which said: —

"Monseiur mon frère, je n'ay voulu laissé passer l'occasion du partement du sieur du Bartas sans par la présente vous tesmoigner le grand contentment que j'ay reçu par sa compagnie ce temps passé et combien son absence me seroit desplaisante sy autrement se pourroit faire. Vous avez certes grande occasion de louer Dieu, et vous estime tres-heureux d'avoir le service et conseil d'un si rare et vertueux personnage." [2]

James also rendered into English *The Furies*, part of the First Day of Du Bartas's *Second Week*. The French poet, returning the compliment, translated James's poem *Lepanto* into the French language, with some lavish praise of the author in a verse preface. James's version of *The Furies*, his *Lepanto*, and Du Bartas's rendering, *La Lepanthe*, were published together by James in 1591, in *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres.* A second edition of James's *Uranie* appeared in 1585; and as early as 1584, under the patronage of James and with commendatory verses by him, Thomas Hudson's English rendering of the *Judith* had been made public. From that time on there was more than a half century of translation from Du Bartas, some of it under the advice and criticism of James, the rest from independent impulse. This may be roughly tabulated as follows:[1] —

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[1] Arber's *English Reprints*, x. 20.

[2] Pellissier, G., *La vie et les œuvres de Du Bartas*, Paris, 1883, p. 21.

1584	Uranie or Heavenly Muse	James VI.
	Judith	Thos. Hudson
1585	Uranie or Heavenly Muse (2d. ed.)	James VI.
1588	Portion of the First Week	Philip Sidney.
1589	Uranie (into Latin verse)	Robert Ashley.
1591	The Furies	James VI.
	A Canticle of the Victory at Ivry	Joshua Sylvester.
	The First Week (entered on *Stationers' Register*)	Joshua Sylvester (probably).
1592	Triumph of Faith; Sacrifice of Isaac; Shipwreck of Jonas; Song of the Victory at Ivry	Sylvester.
1593	Portions of the Semaines, etc.	Anon.[2]

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[1] A similar table appears at p. 13 *sq.* of P. Weller's dissertation, *J. Sylvester's Englische Uebersetzung der Religiösen Epen des Du Bartas*, 1902, to which this chapter is indebted for many suggestions.

[2] Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 171.

1596	The First Day of the World's Creation	Anon.
	Babilon — from the Second Week	Wm. L'Isle.
1598	The Second Week	Sylvester.
	Eden; The Deceipt; Babilon	Anon.
	The Furies; The Handicrafts; The Arts	Anon.
	The Colonies	Anon.
	The Colonies	Wm. L'Isle.
1599	The Handicrafts	Sylvester.
1603	The Second Day of the First Week	Thos. Winter.
1604	The Third Day's Creation	Thos. Winter.
1605–7	Divine Weeks and Works (collected)	Sylvester.[1]
1614–15	The Parliament of Vertues Royal, including Bethulia's Rescue (Du Bartas's Judith), and the Battle of Ivry	Sylvester.
1620	Commentary upon Du Bartas — (*Stat. Reg.*)	"Translated out of French by Dr. Lodge."
1621	Divine Weeks and Works, with all other works	Sylvester.
1625	Part of Du Bartas (English and French)	Wm. L'Isle.
1633	Divine Weeks and Works, etc.	Sylvester.
1637	The Ark; Babilon; The Colonies; The Columns (English and French)	Wm. L'Isle.
1641	Weeks and Works, complete and enlarged	Sylvester.

It at once appears that the most important translator represented here is Joshua Sylvester, and a brief comparison would show that his work was by far the best. The partial translation by Philip Sidney, if it were available, might prove both interesting and significant. There were various reasons why Sidney should have turned to Du Bartas and have been receptive to his influence. Sidney's general interest in French life and literature; his particular regard for the French Protestants, beginning with his youthful sojourn in France during the Saint Bartholomew Massacre and his friendship with Languet, and culminating in his relations with Duplessis-Mornay and interest in his work;[1] his apparent advocacy of so many of the tenets of French criticism, in connection with his membership in the English Areopagus, — these must have combined to turn his attention to the *Semaine* very soon after its appearance. Indeed, there is the suggestion of a still more intimate relation between the two authors, in that Sidney is one of three Englishmen mentioned in the *Second Week* as sustaining the glory of the English tongue.[2] This reference immediately preceded a group of leading French literary men, including Ronsard and closing with Sidney's friend Mornay. The passage, as rendered by Sylvester, with the order of the nations reversed,[3] follows: —

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[1] This collection was reprinted in 1608, 1611, and 1613.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 47 *sq.*

[2] Babylon, second part of Second Day of *Second Week*, *Œuvres*, ed. 1593, ii. 409.

[3] Sylvester's *Works*, ed. 1641, p. 124*b*. It will be noted that Sylvester has nationalized the passage in his usual fashion.

"That, is great Ronsard, who his France to garnish,
Robs Rome and Greece of their Art-various varnish;
And, hardy-witted, handleth happily
All sorts of subject, stile and Poesie.
And this du Plessis, beating Atheisme,
Vain Paganisme, and stubborn Judaisme,
With their own Armes: and sacred-grave and short,
His plain-prankt stile he strengthens in such sort,
That his quick reasons, wing'd with Grace and Art,
Pearce like keen arrowes, every gentle heart.
Our English Tongue three famous Knights sustain;
Moore, Bacone, Sidney: of which former, twain
(High Chancellors of England) weaned first
Our infant-phrase (till then but homely nurst)
And childish toyes; and rudenesse chasing thence,
To civill knowledge, joyn'd sweet eloquence.
And (world-mourn'd) Sidney, warbling to the thames
His swan-like tunes, so courts her coy proud streams,
That (all with-child with Fame) his fame they bear
To Thetis lap; and Thetis, every-where."

That this praise of Sidney was soon generally known and regarded as high compliment is indicated by a remark of Thomas Nash, in his *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Divell*, 1592. "What age," he says, "will not prayse immortal Sir P. Sidney, whome noble Salustius (that thrice singular french Poet) hath famoused, together with Sir Nicholas Bacon and merry Sir Thomas Moore, for the chief pillars of our english speech." [1] The commendatory language used here by Du Bartas should also be noted.

By all odds the most painstaking and extensive translator of Du Bartas was Joshua Sylvester. His attitude toward the French poet of divine things was one of ardent worship; he too felt the call of the Muse Urania and realized the magnitude of his task; and whatever our opinion of the results he accomplished, we rejoice that by this translation his reputation was made for more than half a century, and his name linked with that of his ambitious master as the poet-messengers of God.

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[1] Cf. the excellent discussion in P. Weller, *op. cit.*

Sylvester had had only a limited schooling, but that of a sort that left him well-grounded in his knowledge of the French language.[1] For some years he lived the life of a merchant-adventurer, but was attracted to Du Bartas's poetry and gradually gave more and more time to attempts at translating it. In James Stuart, already the devoted admirer of Du Bartas, he found the logical patron of his muse, and to the new-crowned king his collected works were dedicated. There is no positive evidence as to when Sylvester's translations, especially those of the *Première Semaine*, were begun, or as to the freedom with which they circulated in manuscript before publication. It is only conjecture that the "book in English Entituled, Salustius Du Bartas his weeke or Seven Dayes woork," entered in the *Stationers' Register*, August 14,

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[1] Of the school of the Master Saravia, under whom Sylvester studied, Robert Ashley, another former pupil, said, "It was a rule all should speak French; he who spoke English, though only a sentence, was obliged to wear a fool's cap at meals, and continue to wear it till he caught another in the same fault." — Sylvester, *Works*, ed. Grosart, p. x.

1591, is the work of Sylvester. Yet partial translations by him began appearing in print that same year, and by his own statement these pieces existed in fragmentary form long before they were printed as a collected whole. There is a letter of Sylvester's to King James, dated 1603, in which he deplores the long delay of his publication.

> "Beeing inforced (through the grievous visitacion of Gods heavie hand, upon your Highnes poore Cittie of London) thus long (and yet longer like) to defer the Impression of my slender Labours (long since meant unto your Majestie) I thought it more then tyme, by some other meane, to tender my humble Homage to your Highnes. But wanting both leasure, in my self, and (heere in the Countrey) such helps, as I could have wished, To copie the entire Worke (worthie your Majesties reading) I was faine thus soudanlie to scribble over this small Parte: That (in the mean time) by a Parte, I might (as it wear) give your Highnes Possession of the Whole. . . ."[1]

Later in his life Sylvester extended the field of his translations to embrace numerous other poetic works in French and Latin, generally of a religious turn. Among the pieces drawn from the French appear a translation of the *Quatrains* of Pibrac, *The Profit of Imprisonment* by Odet de la Noue, *Panaretus* (including *Job Triumphant*), based on the work of Jean Bertault, and the *Memorials of Mortalitie* and *Trophies and Tragedy of Henry the Great* by Pierre Matthieu.

Sylvester may be regarded as only a fairly faithful translator.[1] The general progress of the narrative, with its multitudinous digressions, he follows carefully, except that he frequently enlarges by means of nationalizing or localizing illustrations. He often makes over pagan myth-names and simplifies allusions. The bad taste and heaviness of the original he exaggerates sadly by often phrasing metaphor and comparison in the most prosy and matter-of-fact language at his command. To the religious tone of the work he gives a new twist, replacing the mild and liberal Protestantism of Du Bartas by a dogmatic and uncompromising Puritanic spirit, that hardens the moralizing and places parts of the work very near the boundaries of satire. It would be well at this point to note some quotable specimens of figurative illustration, as it appears in the two poets; for unfortunately the truest test for the influence of Du Bartas in England will be along the line of the poet's weaknesses. These comparisons, while often daring in their imaginative flights, are too frequently elaborated at great length in a hopelessly wooden and mechanical fashion, or stoop to triviality and grotesqueness.

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[1] Ed. Grosart, Introd., p. xvi; cf. also facsimile title-page of vol. ii.

1. The Creation of Matter[2]

Du Bartas.

"Ou bien comme l'oiseau qui tasche rendre vifs
Et ses œufs naturels, et ses œufs adoptifs,

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[1] Cf. the discussion in P. Weller, *op. cit.*

[2] Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, bk. i. ll. 21–22:—

"Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant."

Se tient couché sur eux, et d'une chaleur vive,
Fait qu'un rond jaune-blanc en un poulet s'avive:
D'une mesme facon l'Esprit de l'Eternel,
Sembloit couver ce goufre, & d'un soin paternel
Verser en chasque part un vertu feconde,
Pour d'un si lourd amas extraire un si beau monde, . . ."[1]

Sylvester.

"Or, as a Hen, that fain would hatch a Brood
(Some of her own, some of adoptive blood)
Sits close thereon, and with her lively heat,
Of yellow-white bals, doth live birds beget:
Even in such sort seemed the Spirit Eternall
To brood upon this Gulf; with care paternall
Quickning the Parts, inspiring power in each,
From so foul Lees, so faire a World to fetch."[2]

2. Relation of Heaven and Earth

Du Bartas.

"combien qu'incessamment
Le Ciel, masle, s'accouple au plus sec element:
Et d'un germe fecond, qui toute chose anime,
Engrosse à tous momens sa femme legitime
La terre plantureuse, et de corps si divers
En forme & naturel, embellit l'Univers."[3]

Sylvester.

"whereas incessantly
The lusty Heav'n with Earth doth company;
And with a fruitful seed, which lends All life,
With-childes, each moment, his owne lawfull wife;
And with her lovely Babes, in form and nature
So divers, decks this beautiful Theater."[4]

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[1] *Première Semaine,* ed. Paris, 1583, p. 24.
[2] Sylvester, *Works,* ed. 1641, p. 4*a*.
[3] *Prem. Semaine,* ed. 1583, p. 78.
[4] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 12*b*.

3. The Firmament as a Peacock

Du Bartas.

"Comme un Paon, qui, navré du piqueron d'amour,
Veut faire, piafard, à sa dame la cour,
Estaller tasche en rond les thresors de ses ailes
Peinturees d'azur, marquetees d'estoilles,
Rouant tout à l'entour d'un craquetant cerceau,
A fin que son beau corps paroisse encor plus beau:
Le firmament atteint d'une pareille flame
Desploye tous ses biens, rode autour de sa dame,
Tend son rideau d'azur de jaune tavelé,
Houpé de flocons d'or, d'ardans yeux piolé,
Pommelé haut et bas de flambantes rouelles,
Moucheté de clers feux, & parsemé d'estoilles,
Pour faire que la terre aille plus ardemment
Recevoir le doux fruict de son embrasement." [1]

Sylvester.

"Even as a Peacock, prickt with loves desire,
To woo his Mistress, strouting stately by her,
Spreads round the rich pride of his pompous vail,
His azure wings, and Starry-golden tail;
With rattling pinions wheeling still about,
The more to set his beauteous beauty out:
The Firmament (as feeling like above)
Displayes his pomp; pranceth about his Love,
Spreads his blew curtain, mixt with golden marks,
Set with gilt Spangles, sown with glistring Sparks,
Sprinkled with eyes, specked with Tapers bright,
Poudred with Stars streaming with glorious light,
T' inflame the Earth the more, with Lovers grace,
To take the sweet fruit of his kind imbrace." [2]

[1] *Prem. Semaine,* p. 224.
[2] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 33*a*.

4. Bridges

Du Bartas.

"Ses Ponts, bastis sans art, sont des Rocs mouchetez,
Que le flot mine-rive a de son choc voutez,
Ou des Palmes encor. Car les chaudes femelles,
Pour assouvir l'amour qui boult dans leurs mouelles,
Et ioindre leurs maris sur l'autre bord croissans
Courbent leur tige espais, et font planche aux passans."[1]

Sylvester.

"And th' art-less Bridges, over-thwart this Torrent,
Are rocks self-arched by the eating Current:
Or loving Palms, whose lusty Females willing
Their marrow-boyling loves to be fullfilling,
(And reach their Husband-trees on th' other banks)
Bow their stiffe backs, and serve for passing-planks."[2]

5. Winter

Du Bartas.

"Mais soudain que l'Hyver donne une froide bride
Aux fleuves desbordez: que la face, il solide
Du Baltique Neptun: qu'il vitre les guerets,
Et que de flocs de laine il orne les forets."[3]

Sylvester.

"But, when the Winter's keener breath began
To crystallize the Baltike Ocean,
To glaze the Lakes, and bridle-up the Flouds,
And perriwig with wool the balde-pate Woods";[4]

In the list of characteristic details of style in Du Bartas, the use of compound words is perhaps the most important. On the whole, it may be said that Sylvester carries this tendency considerably farther. How much of this increase is due to Sylvester's own initiative, and how much is encouraged by the example of his great contemporaries, themselves somewhat under the influence of Du Bartas, it is rather hard to determine. These points are certain: (1) In many cases, where Du Bartas uses compounds, Sylvester does also, often compounding English equivalents of the French words. Thus "porte-fleurs" becomes "flowry-mantled"; "chasse-mal," "hammer-ill." (2) In other cases, where Du Bartas has used no compounds, Sylvester introduces some of his own, often connecting from three to five words in one combination. In the work of either man, however, there is almost no limit to the compounding tendency, many of the instances in each being entirely at variance with the natural idiom of the language. Du Bartas, however, afforded no model for such flights of Sylvestrian exuberance as "Smell-strong-Many-foot," for a certain type of fish;[1] "sweet Hee-Shee-Coupled-One," for the first pair in Eden;[2] "before-un-sorrow-drained-brain"[3] or "Plummet-like-smooth-sliding Tenor."[4]

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[1] Du Bartas, *Œuvres*, ed. 1593, ii. 63.
[2] Sylvester, p. 85*b*.
[3] Du Bartas, ed. 1593, ii. 265.
[4] Sylvester, p. 105*a*.

The tendency to reduplicate words, which is so common in Du Bartas, is never actually repeated in Sylvester's translations, and yet there are a few places where Sylvester's compounds appear to have been created with these forms in mind. Such expressions as "our Countries now-Po-poysoned phrase,"[1] or "the dart-darting wily Porcupin,"[2] although real compounds, easily suggest the "flo-flottant," "bou-bouillant," and the like, of Du Bartas.

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 41*a*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 57*b*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 104*a*.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 143*b*.

The onomatopoetic qualities of Du Bartas are carried on in about the same degree and with about the same excellence by the translator, as these two examples indicate:[3] —

1. The Lark

Du Bartas.

"La gentile Alouete avec son tire-lire,
Tire-l'ire à l'iré et tire-lirant tire,
Vers la voute du Ciel; puis son vol vers ce lieu
Vire, et desire dire, adieu Dieu, adieu Dieu."[4]

Sylvester.

"The pretty lark, climbing the Welkin clear
Chaunts with a cheer, Heer peer-I neer my Dear;
Then stooping thence (seeming her fall to rew)
Adieu (she saith), adieu, Deer, Deer, adieu!"[5]

2. The Thunder Storm

Du Bartas.

"Comme le feu caché dans la vapeur espesse
Marmotonne, grondant, la nue qui le presse,
Canonne, tonne, estonne; et d'un long roulement
Iré fait retentir le venteux element."[6]

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 120*a*.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 181*b*.
[3] These are quoted by Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[4] *Œuvres*, ed. 1593, i. 429.
[5] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 44*b*.
[6] *Œuvres*, ed. 1593, ii. 182.

Sylvester.

"As the heat, hidden in a vapoury Cloud,
Striving for issue with strange murmurs loud,
Like guns astuns, with round, round-rumbling thunder,
Filling the air with noyse, the Earth with wonder."[1]

As already noted, Du Bartas shows a considerable fondness for word-play and jingle in his verses. Thus there appear such expressions as: —

"Esprit à leur esprit par l'Esprit de sa voix,"

and

"joindrit volontiers ses larmes à ces larmes,"

in the *Judith;* and

"le sang de mon sang et l'ame de mon ame,"

in the *Semaines.* Sylvester usually renders such phrasings faithfully, but his employment of such conceits is by no means limited to that of his original. In the time intervening between the French *Semaines* and Sylvester's publication of the *Weeks and Works*, England was completely carried away by the fascination of such tricks of expression; Sidney and Spenser and the rest working the vogue to excess, and Euphuism, Arcadianism, and their kindred, extending these practices throughout the land. The influence of the poems of Du Bartas may have been a factor in encouraging this vogue, but they do not appear to have anything like the significance that they had for the tendency toward compound words. Sylvester was awake to all the fads of the hour, and apparently found intense satisfaction in numerous examples of verbal conceit, just as he did in anagrams and in stanzas printed in emblematic shape. While conceits of language by themselves would serve no purpose in indicating Sylvester's influence, they may play a valuable part as accessories, and thus deserve attention. Some typical specimens are easily selected.

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 97*b*.

1. "In brief, mine eye, confounded with such spectacles,
   In that one wonder sees a Sea of Miracles."[1]

2. "This purest, fairest, rarest Fruits fruition."[2]

3. "With divine accents tuning rarely right
   Unto the rapting Spirit the rapted Spright."[3]

4. "The Spirit which all good spirits in spirit adore,
   In all, on all, with-out all, evermore."[4]

5. "I am that I am, in me, for me, by me;
   All Beings Be not (or else unselfly be)
   But from my Being, all their Beings gather."[5]

There is also a difference of metrical form between Du Bartas and his translator. The original *Semaines* were in Alexandrine couplets, for which Sylvester substituted a ten-syllable couplet. Moreover, instead of the somewhat lengthy prose summaries with which Du Bartas prefaced the narrative of each day, Sylvester employed short, crisp "arguments" in verse, resembling those of the *Faerie Queene*, except that they were in the metre of the poem proper.

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 37*b*.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92*a*.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 143*b*.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 154*a*.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 167*b*.

At the beginning of his version of the *Second Week*, Sylvester pauses to offer a prayer for his own success in turning the reading public of England

"From Ovid's heires, and their un-hallowed spell
Here charming senses, chaining soules in Hell,"

and enjoins upon the poetic wits of the country to carry on original work along the lines Du Bartas has laid down.

"Let them devise new Weeks, new Works, new Waies
To celebrate the supreme Prince of praise."

That there was a willing response to this call to the service of Urania may easily be established; and indeed there is abundant evidence that, prior to the appearance of Sylvester's translation and independent of his influence, the literary men of England were entirely familiar with his French master. Furthermore, they had been impressed by this master fully as much as was King James, the first English champion of Du Bartas, and had drawn upon the *Semaines* for certain elements of their own writings. The case of Sidney has already been mentioned. In an earlier chapter[1] attention was called to his fondness for compound words: —

"that new elegance
Which sweet Philisides fetch'd of late from France."

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[1] *Supra*, p. 67.

While the word-play and jingle ("replicazione") that appear so often in the *Arcadia* have no need of a Du Bartas to account for their existence, there is a strong probability that his use of compounds may represent the still fresh influence of that poet.

For Spenser, too, there is a fairly interesting case. The external evidence is in the form of a tribute paid to Du Bartas in the *Ruins of Rome*, 1591, just after that paid Du Bellay, from whom this poem was drawn. Having declared of Du Bellay, —

> "Thy dayes therefore are endless, and thy prayse
> Excelling all that ever went before;"

he adds in conclusion: —

> "And after thee, gins Bartas hie to rayse
> His Heavenly Muse, th' Almightie to adore.
> Live, happie spirits, th' honour of your name,
> And fill the world with never dying fame!"[1]

Of course there are in the works of Du Bartas and Spenser numerous features in common that in no way indicate an indebtedness. Both, for example, invoke the aid of the Heavenly Muse; and yet Spenser in this is merely following the lead of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, composed under the counter influence of the Catholic Reaction, as was Tasso's parallel to *La Première Semaine*, — *Le Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato*, written in 1595 with a knowledge of Du Bartas's work. Spenser, though in a lesser degree than Du Bartas, draws freely upon the unnatural

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[1] Spenser, *Works*, Globe edition, p. 531.

natural history of the time, and employs the cataloguing of such matters to illuminate his statements. Both indulge frequently in elaborate comparisons; and in the numerous instances where Spenser's figures become dully material or show daring taste, it is only natural to think of the prevalent tone of such things in Du Bartas. Spenser, like Sidney, employs the verbal echo in conceits, and Spenser too shows a considerable fondness for compound words.

There is a more distinct resemblance connecting with the Sixth Day of *La Première Semaine.* There Du Bartas approaches the creation of man in these words:—

> "O Pere, tout ainsi qu'il te pleut de former
> De la marine humeur les hostes de la mer:
> De mesme tu formas d'une terrestre masse
> Des fragiles humains la limonneuse race,
> A fin que chasque corps forgé nouvellement
> Eust quelque sympathie avec son element.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Mais tu logeas encor l'humain entendement
> En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment:
> A fin que tout ainsi que d'une citadelle
> Il domptast la fureur du corps, qui se rebelle
> Trop souvent contre luy, & que nostre raison,
> Tenant dans un tel fort jour et nuit garnison,
> Foulast dessous ses pieds l'envie, la cholere,
> L'avarice, l'orgueil, & tout ce populaire,
> Qui veut, seditieux, tousjours donner la loy
> A celuy qu'il te pleut leur ordonner pour Roy."[1]

There follows a detailed description of the various portions of this "beau bastiment," with their functions, beginning with those of the citadel, the head, and continuing for some two hundred lines the author's version of the old Greek notion of Microcosmos. As he explains, this marvelous equipment has its greatest value in providing a suitable dwelling-place for the human soul, whose exact location in the edifice he regards as uncertain and of no moment.[1] In the general conception and in many details of description and phraseology there is a striking resemblance to the "House of Alma," an episode in the ninth canto of the Second Book of the *Faerie Queene*. The first approach to Alma's castle strongly suggests the passage just quoted from Du Bartas, even to the detail of the "slimy" earth.

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[1] *Prem. Semaine,* ed. 1583, p. 377 *sq.*

> "First she them led up to the Castle Wall,
> That was so high, as foe might not it clime,
> And all so faire, and sensible withall,
> Not built of bricke, ne yet of stone and lime,
> But of thing like to that Ægyptian slime,
> Whereof King Nine whilome built Babell towre."[2]

The foes against which "l'entendement" keeps guard find echo a little before in Spenser's description: —

> "Thus as he spoke, loe with outragious cry
> A thousand villeins round about them swarmed
> Out of the rockes and caves adioyning nye,

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[1] Cf. *Prem. Semaine*, ed. cit., p. 407: —

"Car soit que cest esprit, inventeur de tout art
Soit tout en tout le corps, & tout en chasque part,
Soit qu'il regne au cerveau, soit qu'au cœur il habite."

[2] *Faerie Queene*, ii. ix. 186.

Vile caytive wretches, ragged, rude, deformed,
All threatning death, all in straunge manner armd."[1]

Spenser's description of the eyes, mouth, teeth, tongue and stomach, and further details concerning the understanding, shows striking resemblance to that given by Du Bartas.[2] In fact, the *Faerie Queene* does not deviate materially until the pictures of Understanding, Memory, and Imagination, which are personified and placed in their proper chambers in the head, instead of merely having their functions commented upon, as in the *Semaine*. It is true that this Microcosmos idea was commonplace enough in England at the time, but the detailed resemblance of Spenser and Du Bartas at this point is certainly more than mere chance.[3] Upon further comparison of these two works with Sylvester's version of Du Bartas, there are certain peculiarities of phraseology which indicate that this translation was made with a knowledge of the parallel, and with considerable attention to Spenser's wording. A good instance appears in the description of the stomach, where "le cuisinier parfait" of Du Bartas becomes in Spenser "the maister Cook Concoction," and Sylvester repeats the term "Master-Cook" and uses the word "concoct" twice in this connection.

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[1] *Faerie Queene*, ii. ix. 114 *sq.*

[2] See parallels of Du Bartas, Spenser, Sylvester, and Fletcher's *Purple Island* in appendix B.

[3] J. M. Berdan, "Doni and the Jacobeans," in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, June, 1907, notes a slightly similar treatment of the matter in a dialogue by Doni.

Gabriel Harvey, friend and for a time literary associate of both Sidney and Spenser, is emphatic in his praise of Du Bartas. One extravagant passage reads: —

> "The afore-named Bartas (whome elsewhere I have stiled the Treasurer of Humanity, and the Ieweller of Divinity) for the highnesse of his subject and the maiesty of his verse, nothing inferior unto Dante (whome some Italians preferre before Virgil, or Homer) a right inspired and enravished Poet; full of chosen, grave, profound, venerable, and stately matter; even in the next Degree to the sacred, and reverend stile of heavenly Divinity it selfe. In a manner the onely Poet, whom Urany hath voutsafed to Laureate with her owne heavenly hand: and worthy to bee alleadged of Divines, and Counsellours, as Homer is quoted of Philosophers, and Oratours. Many of his solemne verses, are oracles: and one Bartas, that is, one French Salomon, more weighty in stern and mighty counsell, then the Seaven Sages of Greece. Never more beauty in vulgar Languages: but his stile addeth favour, and grace to beauty; . . ."[1]

At one place on the margin of a copy of Quintilian, in which he was making comments, Harvey wrote: "Euripides, wisest of Poets: except now at length the divine Bartas."[2]

In the writings of Sir John Davies, composed and printed in the last decade of the sixteenth century, there again appears this notion of the body as the well-equipped dwelling-place of the soul. His poem, *The Immortality of the Soul,* contains numerous stanzas in language already familiar, describing details of the soul's dwelling-place; and the *Orchestra,* in one place at least, carries on the comparison of veins in the body to streams of water on the earth, a figure already employed by Du Bartas,[1] and later to count for so much in the *Purple Island* of Phineas Fletcher.[2]

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[1] Harvey, *Works,* ed. Grosart, ii. 103.
[2] Henry Morley, *English Writers,* ix. 184.

"Yet though the Earth is ever stedfast seen,
On her broad breast hath dancing ever been.
For those blue veins that through her body spread,
Those sapphire streams which from great hills do spring,
(The Earth's great dugs; for ev'ry wight is fed
With sweet fresh moisture from them issuing)
Observe a dance in their wild wandering." [3]

From the *Immortality of the Soul* a few stanzas need to be quoted. Du Bartas had said of the Soul's swiftness in flight: —

"Or bien que nostre esprit vive comme captif
Dans les ceps de ce corps, qu'il languisse chetif
Sous un obscur tombeau, d'une tirade il vole
Et d'Imaue outre Calpe, et de la terre au pole:
Plus viste que celuy qui d'un flamboyant tour
Tout ce grand Univers postillonne en un jour.
Car quittant quelquefois les terres trop cognues,
D'une alegre secousse il saute sur les nues:

* * * * *

Par les degrez de l'air il monte audacieux,
Sur les planchers du monde, il visite les cieux
Estage apres estage, il contemple leurs voutes,
Il remarque l'accord de leurs contraires routes
D'un infallible get." [4]

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[1] See appendix B.
[2] *Infra,* p. 199 *sq.*
[3] Chalmers, *English Poets,* v. 108.
[4] *Prem. Semaine,* ed. 1583, p. 411.

Davies says of the Soul:—

"When she, without a Pegasus, doth fly,
Swifter than lightning's fire from east to west;
About the centre, and above the sky,
She travels then, although the body rest.

* * * * *

"Yet in the body's prison so she lies,
As through the body's windows she must look,
Her divers powers of sense to exercise,
By gath'ring notes out of the world's great book.

* * * * *

. . . "the soul, which is a lady free,
And doth the justice of her state maintain:
Because the senses ready servants be,
Attending nigh about her court, the brain."[1]

In addition to the notion of mere swiftness and activity, there is developed in these lines the whole conception of the Soul as mistress of a fleshly abode. Such details as these follow:—

"Her quick'ning power in ev'ry living part,
Doth as a nurse or as a mother serve;
And doth employ her economic art,
And busy care, her household to preserve.

Here she attracts, and there she doth retain;
There she decocts, and doth the food prepare;
There she distributes it to ev'ry vein,
There she expels what she may fitly spare.

* * * * *

"First, the two eyes, which have the seeing pow'r
Stand as one watchman, spy, or centinel,
Being plac'd aloft, within the head's high tow'r;
And though both see, yet both but one thing tell.

* * * * *

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[1] Chalmers, *op. cit.*, v. 84.

"These wickets of the soul[1] are plac'd on high,
Because all sounds do lightly mount aloft;
And that they may not pierce too violently,
They are delay'd with turns and windings oft.

"For should the voice directly strike the brain,
It would astonish and confuse it much;
Therefore these plaits and folds the sound retain,
That it the organs may more gently touch."[2]

The account of the mental powers and their seats goes into detail more after the manner of Spenser. Comparison of all these descriptions with those already considered in the *Semaine* and the *Faerie Queene*,[3] indicates a strong probability that Davies had both these well in mind when he composed his work, and drew from them such suggestions as would serve his more abstract ends.

There are a number of references still to be mentioned testifying to the standing of Du Bartas in England at the close of the sixteenth century. The *Arcadian Rhetorike* of Abraham Fraunce, in 1588, besides the definite mention of Du Bartas and his work on the title-page, draws freely from his writings throughout its pages. Sir John Harrington, in his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, in 1591, comments thus on the story of Judith, appearing in the 35th. Book: "which storie, the lord Du Bartas, and rare French Poet, contrived into an excellent Poeme in French, and the same is translated into a very good and sweet English verse, by one

[1] The ears.

[2] Chalmers, *op. cit.*, v. 90.

[3] See appendix B.

M. Thomas Hudson."[1] The address "To the Reader," prefixed by Barnabe Barnes to his *Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets*, 1595, has already been noted, with its tribute to the champion of the Heavenly Muse, and acknowledgment of his influence in the direction of religious sonnets.[2] Churchyard, in his *Praise of Poetrie*, 1595, has this to say:—

> "Divine Du Bartas merits praise,
> Most excellent verse he wrate."

The tendency of Du Bartas's work in the direction of satire has already been noted. An early development in this line is mentioned by Warton in his *History of English Poetry*. "In 1598," he says,[3] "appeared 'Seven Satires, applied to the week, including the world's ridiculous follies.' This form was an imitation of the Semaines of Du Bartas, just translated into English by Delisle."[4]

The satirist Joseph Hall was somewhat deeply interested in the work of Du Bartas. In the first book of his *Vergidemiarum*, 1597, the fourth satire, he mentions the French poet as ranking with Spenser and Ariosto, the only moderns whose poetry in heroic vein deserved the laurel.[5] In the eighth satire of the same book,[1] however, attacking the vogue of writing religious poetry, then prevalent among the poorest literary pretenders, he says:—

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[1] This and several other references immediately following are drawn from Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 7 *sq.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 134 *sq.*

[3] Ed. London, 1824, iv. 397.

[4] As a matter of fact, L'Isle's translations appear decidedly fragmentary at that date. Cf. p. 153.

[5] Chalmers, *op. cit.*, v. 266.

"Hence, ye profane! mell not with holy things
That Sion's Muse from Palestina brings.
Parnassus is transformed to Sion Hill,
And iv'ry-palms her steep ascents done fill.
Now good St. Peter weeps pure Helicon,
And both the Maries make a music moan:
Yea, and the prophet of the heav'nly lyre,
Great Solomon, sings in the English quire;
And is become a new-found sonnetist,
Singing his love, the holy spouse of Christ."

Though the particular objects of this attack were poems by Robert Southwell and Gervase Markham; Marston, Hall's enemy, saw in this satire an opportunity to bring the latter into bad repute by representing him as attacking the then admired Du Bartas. In a satire entitled "Reactio," in 1598, he declares:—

. . . "O daring hardiment!
At Bartas' sweet Semaines rail impudent!
At Hopkins, Sternhold,[2] and the Scottish King,
At all Translators that do strive to bring
That stranger language to our vulgar tongue,
Spit in thy poison their fair acts among;
Ding them all down from fair Jerusalem,
And mew them up in thy deserved Bedlam."[3]

Any doubt concerning Hall's real attitude toward the poems of Du Bartas gives way before the verses of lavish compliment which he addressed to Sylvester on the completion of his translation. These conclude: —

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[1] Chalmers, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[2] These men were noted for their metrical versions of the Psalms.

[3] Marston, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, iii. 281.

"Thou follow'st Bartasses diviner streine;
And sing'st his numbers in his native veine.
Bartas was some French Angel, girt with Bayes:
And thou a Bartas art, in English Layes.
Whether is more? Mee seems (the sooth to say'n)
One Bartas speakes in Tongues, in Nations, twain."[1]

There is one other bit of testimony, just at the beginning of the new century, indicating the popularity of Du Bartas in the original. This is the already quoted passage[2] from the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606, where Amoretto says to his page: "Sirrha boy, remember me when I come into Paules Churchyard to buy a Ronzard and Dubartas in french . . . they wil sharpen my witts gallantly." Although there is no technical force to the word "wit" as used here, it suggests an important line of consideration belonging to this same period.

The various forms of wit, which characterize so much of the poetry of the early seventeenth century, may of course have grown up without outside impulse, finding sufficient cause in the somewhat mechanical struggle of a decadent period to find new figurative conceptions that would attract readers by surprise or sweep of imagination. Yet it is unlikely that this problem can be completely solved without reckoning with the encouragement given by numerous foreign or native compositions, already turning more or less in these directions. The Italian lyric poets at the end of the *quattrocento* had prepared the way for such activity. The work of Du Bartas, either in its original form or in translation, opens a promising field of further investigation in the matter of these outside impulses.[1] Even in the case of John Donne, the great leader in the use of daring figures drawn from the material things of life, there seems ample reason to consider the possible influence of the *Semaines*. Foreign source-hunting for Donne has not proved especially satisfying. Marino came into the field too late, and his style is less like Donne's, the more one studies it. The Spanish Gongora grew to resemble Donne in extravagant metaphor and torturing obscurity, but these features of his style likewise came too late.[2] Donne carries power and intensity of imagination far beyond that of Serafino and his group. There is a degree of satisfaction in the notion that Donne was Donne, and that his bold and virile imagination seized upon startling conceptions which other men did not dream of. When one considers, however, that practically all the peculiarities of Donne had already appeared in Du Bartas, lacking there only the mastery of genius to make them vital and impressive instead of vapid and commonplace, the element of French suggestion seems to some extent to find its place in the explanation of this English work.[1] The poetry of Du Bartas was before him; he had every reason to know it. Even as he experimented and composed, Sylvester's translations were coming into circulation. Elaborate figures, complicated figures, comparisons drawn from all the minutiæ of contemporary science and hardly pausing at the threshold of men's sense of taste and proportion: all these were spread out before him, and he had only to approve them and give them power.

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[1] Sylvester, ed. 1641, introductory pages. Attention may be called here to the statement of Hall, in the postscript to *Vergidemiarum*, that among his models was "one base French satire." This may well be a reference to the *Satire Ménippée*, available since 1594, and not at all classical in form or source; hence "base."

[2] *Supra*, p. 140.

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[1] Cf. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, iii. 93.

[2] Cf. Edmund Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*, ii. 343–344.

The minor tricks of style concerned him but little. His use of compounds is not excessive, but they appear occasionally. Thus: —

1. "But truly keeps his first-last-everlasting day."[2]

2. "'Tis much that glass should be
   As all confessing and through-shine as I."[3]

3. "Or like to full on-both-sides-written rolls."[4]

4. "Batter my heart, three-person'd God."[5]

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[1] Cf. J. Churton Collins, Introd. to *Poems* of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, p. xxiii.

[2] "The Anniversary," Chalmers, *Eng. Poets*, v. 131.

[3] "The Valediction of My Name," Chalmers, v. 131.

[4] "Of the Progress of the Soul, 2d Anniversary," Chalmers, v. 184.

[5] *Holy Sonnets*, no. xiv, Chalmers, v. 198.

Donne's use of verbal echoes and conceits is also moderate. A few examples appear: —

1. "As to a stomach starv'd, whose insides meet,
   Meat comes, it came;"[1]

2. "All things are one; and that one none can be,
   Since all forms uniform deformity
   Doth cover; . . ."[2]

3. "Verse, that draws Nature's works from Nature's law,
   Thee, her best work, to her work cannot draw."[3]

4. "That all, which always was all, every where;
   Which could not sin, and yet all sins did bear.
   Which could not die, yet could not choose but die;[4]

This particular expression must have been especially pleasing to Donne, as it is repeated almost verbatim in the second of his *Holy Sonnets*: —

> "That all, which always is all everywhere,
> Which cannot sin, and yet all sins must bear,
> Which cannot die, yet cannot choose but die."[5]

In the use of complicated comparisons drawn from the material details of human knowledge, Donne finds his distinguishing characteristic. Numerous entire poems of his are little else than meshes of this sort, either playing upon a few elaborately wrought figures or trying one daring notion after another. Examples of this are found in such poems as "The Flea,"[1] "A Valediction of My Name in the Window," "Love's Alchymy," "Elegy VIII (The Comparison)," and the verses to Mr. T. W. and Mr. B. B. Masses of whimsical conceits of this sort occur also in "The Anatomy of the World — First and Second Anniversaries,"[2] as well as in "The Progress of the Soul"[3] and in "The Cross."[4] Various valuable examples may be quoted from other poems. Thus from "Love's Growth:"—

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[1] "The Storme," Chalmers, v. 162.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Sappho to Philœnis," Chalmers, v. 174.

[4] "Progress of the Soul, First Song," Chalmers, v. 192.

[5] *Ibid.*, v. 196.

"And yet no greater, but more eminent,
Love by the spring is grown;
As in the firmament
Stars by the Sun are not enlarg'd, but shown.
Gentle love-deeds, as blossoms on a bough,
From love's awakened root do bud out now.
If, as in water stirr'd more circles be
Produc'd by one, love, such additions take,
Those, like so many spheres, but one Heaven make,
For they are all concentric unto thee;
And though each spring do add to love new heat,
As princes do in times of action get
New taxes, and remit them not in peace,
No winter shall abate this spring's increase."[5]

An elaborate clock figure occurs in the Funeral Elegy "To the Lord Harrington's Brother": —

"Though as small pocket-clocks, whose every wheel
Doth each mis-motion and distemper feel;
Whose hands get shaking palsies; and whose string
(His sinews) slackens; and whose soul, the spring,

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[1] These poems appear in Chalmers, 127, 131, 134, 145, 168, 169.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 191 *sq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Expires or languishes; and whose pulse, the flee,
Either beats not or beats unevenly;
Whose voice, the bell, doth rattle or grow dumb,
Or idle, as men which to their last hour come;
If these clocks be not wound, or be wound still,
Or be not set, or set at every will;
So youth is easiest to destruction,
If then we follow all, or follow none."[1]

A somewhat startling effect is obtained by Donne's way of stating surprise that the world has gone on in its course, despite the fact that Mrs. Elizabeth Drury is dead: —

"Or as sometimes in a beheaded man,
Though at those two red seas, which freely ran,
One from the trunk, another from the head,
His soul be sail'd to her eternal bed,
His eyes will twinkle and his tongue will roll,
As though he beck'ned and call'd back his soul,
He grasps his hands, and he pulls up his feet,
And seems to reach, and to step forth to meet
His soul; when all these motions which we saw,
Are but as ice, which crackles at a thaw:
Or as a lute, which in moist weather rings
Her knell alone, by cracking of her strings;
So struggles this dead world, now she is gone:
For there is motion in corruption."[2]

Indeed, the two elegies, from the second of which this is drawn, seem in a number of ways subject to the direct influence of Du Bartas. They are both in honor of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury, the "First Anniversary" being entitled "The Anatomy of the World,"[3] and the second, "Of the Progress of the Soul." They belong to the years 1611 and 1612, and are in the ten-syllable couplets of the *Satires*[1] and of Sylvester's translations. As already noted, they abound in Donne's characteristics of style. References to the creation are frequent. Thus: —

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[1] Chalmers, *op. cit.*, p. 187. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[3] It may be noted that "The Anatomy of the World" was written in Paris, when Donne was there in attendance upon Sir Robert Drury.

1. "When nature was most busy, the first week
Swaddling the new-born Earth, God seemed to like
That she should sport herself sometimes and play,
To mingle and vary colours every day:
And then, as though she could not make enow,
Himself his various rainbow did allow."[2]

2. "As some days are at the creation nam'd,
Before the Sun, the which fram'd days, was fram'd:
So after the Sun's set some show appears,
And orderly vicissitude of years."[3]

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[1] While Donne's *Satires* were written much earlier and strictly under classical influence, it is interesting to note a reference to French satire in a letter of his, belonging to about the time of *The Anatomy of the World*. The passage reads: "To Yourself. Sir: I make shift to think that I promised you this book of French Satires. If I did not, yet it may have the grace of acceptation, both as it is a very forward and early fruit, since it comes before it was looked for, and as it comes from a good root, which is an importune desire to serve you." (*Works*, ed. Alford, Lond., 1839, vi. 421.) R. L. Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England*, p. 87, quotes concerning this from a private letter from Edmund Gosse: "The letter in question was written to George Gerrard, who, I am convinced by a long chain of evidence, is always the 'yourself' of Donne's correspondence. It was written in 1612, and I think after August. The book of *Satires* is almost certainly the 'Satyres et autres œuvres folastres' of Regnier, published early in 1612 while Donne was in Paris."

[2] "First Anniversary," Chalmers, *op. cit.*, v. 179.

[3] "Second Anniversary," Chalmers, v. 181.

These are paralleled by a lengthy description in a Letter to the Countess of Huntingdon: —

"As all things were but one nothing, dull and weak,
Until this raw disorder'd heap did break,
As several desires led parts away,
Water declin'd with earth, the air did stay,
Fire rose, and each from other but unty'd,
Themselves unprison'd were and purify'd:
So was love, first in vast confusion hid,
An unripe willingness which nothing did,
A thirst, an appetite which had no ease,
That found a want, but knew not what would please.
What pretty innocence in that day mov'd!
Man ignorantly walk'd by her he lov'd;
Both sigh'd and interchang'd a speaking eye,
Both trembled and were sick, yet knew not why."[1]

Much is made in Donne's *Funeral Elegies* of the superior strength and more extensive life of man soon after creation; in fact, the poems are constantly reverting to the times described in the two *Semaines.*[2] The Microcosmos notion, which, though by no means limited to Du Bartas, had been developed at length in his Sixth Day of the *First Week*, finds many opportunities for mention in Donne's poems, sometimes in a manner closely resembling the treatment in Du Bartas. A characteristically elaborated specimen of the type occurs in the "Elegy on Lady Markham," and in several ways suggests Du Bartas: —

"Man is the world, and death the ocean,
To which God gives the lower parts of man,

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[1] Chalmers, *op. cit.*, v. 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. 177–178.

This sea environs all, and though as yet
God hath set marks and bounds 'twixt us and it,
Yet doth it roar, and gnaw, and still pretend
To break our bank, whene'er it takes a friend:
Then our land-waters (tears of passion) vent;
Our waters then above our firmament,
(Tears, which our soul doth for our sins let fall)
Take all a brackish taste, and funeral.
And even those tears, which should wash sin, are sin.
We, after God, new drown our world again."[1]

One of Donne's poems, "The Progress of the Soul," dated 1601, is a daring narrative development of the idea of metempsychosis, looking remarkably like a parody of such sacred epic as that of Du Bartas. The introduction is perhaps most significant: —

"I sing the progress of a deathless soul,
Whom Fate, which God made, but doth not control,
Plac'd in most shapes; all times, before the law
Yok'd us, and when, and since, in this I sing;
And the great world t' his aged evening,
From infant morn, through manly noon I draw;
What the gold Chaldee, or silver Persian saw,
Greek brass, or Roman iron, is in this one;
A work t' out-wear Seth's pillars, brick and stone,
And (holy writ excepted) made to yield to none."[2]

The recognized imitators of Donne — John Cleveland, Harry King, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury — carry on the same peculiarities of style seen in their master. Whether or not they went back of him to Du Bartas would be difficult to decide and of no great importance.

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[1] *Ibid.*, v. 188; cf. also pp. 150–151, 180, 187.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. 191.

By the opening of the seventeenth century Sylvester's translations had proceeded so far, and come so widely into circulation, that many men not previously familiar with the *Semaines* had free access to them in English, and were struck, perhaps for the first time, by the full force of the call of Urania. Among the men whose work indicates that they hastened to respond to this summons, it is important to note the presence of most of the leaders in the later Sidney coterie, the devoted satellites of Lady Pembroke. John Davies of Hereford, Nicholas Breton, and Sir William Alexander all appear to have been of this group, and William Browne, Drayton, and the Fletchers were at least literary disciples of Spenser. Samuel Daniel, Lady Pembroke's favorite, was also deeply interested in the poetry of Du Bartas, as is shown by his commendatory sonnet to the translator, Sylvester: —

"Thus to adventure forth, and re-convey
The best of treasures from a forrain Coast,
And take that wealth wherein they gloried most,
And make it ours by such a gallant prey,
And that without injustice; doth bewray
The glorie of the Worke, that we may boast
Much to have wonne, and others nothing lost
By taking such a famous prize away,
As thou industrious Sylvester hast wrought,
And heer enricht us with immortall store
Of others sacred lines; which from them brought,
Comes by thy taking greater than before:
So hast thou lighted from a flame devout,
As great a flame, that never shall goe out." [1]

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[1] Sylvester, ed. 1641, introductory pages.

That Sylvester, on the other hand, admired Daniel, and considered his tastes and talents peculiarly adapted to carry farther the work begun by the *Semaines*, is shown by a passage which Sylvester introduced in his version of the First Day of the *Second Week*. He is localizing in England the appeal of Du Bartas: —

"Let this provoke our modern Wits to sacre
Their wondrous gifts to honour thee, their Maker:
That our mysterious Elfine Oracle,
Deep, morall, grave, Inventions miracle;
My deer sweet Daniel, sharp conceipted, brief,
Civill, sententious, for pure accents chief:
And our new Naso, that so passionates
Th' Heroick sighes of love-sick Potentates:
May change their subject, and advance their wings
Up to these higher and more holy things." [1]

Most, if not all, of the English poets who came under the influence of the *Divine Weeks*, had already been attracted by the passion which was in the air for complicated figures and tricks of phrasing; and were glad enough to make their work conform to the exaggerated standard in this regard set by Sylvester in his translations. It is natural, then, to look for all the eccentricities of the poems of Du Bartas in the English works which by subject and scope seem to carry on his consecrated purpose. Among the earliest writers of such poetry in the new century stands John Davies of Hereford. He was outspoken in praise of both Du Bartas and his translator. A sonnet of his, printed at the beginning of Sylvester's complete rendering, places him on record: —

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 81*b*.

"If divine Bartas (from whose blessed Braines
Such Works of grace, or gracefull workes did stream)
Were so admir'd for Wit's celestiall Strains
As made their Vertues Seat, the high'st Extream;
The Josuah, the Sun of thy bright praise
Shall fixed stand in Arts faire Firmament
Till Dissolution date Time's Nights, and Dayes,
Sith right thy Lines are made to Bartas Bent,
Whose Compasse circumscribes (in spacious words)
The Universal in particulars;
And thine the same, in other tearms, affords:
So, both your Tearmes agree in friendly Wars:
If Thine be onely His, and His be Thine,
They are (like God) eternall, sith Divine." [1]

A longer poem of praise, by Davies, was prefixed, in Sylvester's collected works, to the Fourth Day of the *Second Week*.[2] This poem is in the "Heavenly Muse" strain and goes to greater extravagance than the sonnet, Davies signing himself "The unfained lover of thine Art, honesty, and vertue."

Three long poems in particular by Davies seem to show the influence of this poetry he praised so highly: *Microcosmos*, 1603; *The Holy Roode or Christ's Crosse*, 1609; and *The Muses Sacrifice* or *Divine Meditations*, 1612. The first of these is an elaborate development of the then popular conception, taking the form of a dull combination of pseudo-science and abstract sermonizing. The notion of Micro-

[1] Sylvester, ed. 1641, introductory pages.
[2] Printed on pp. 332–333 of the 1641 edition.

cosmos has already been shown to be a favorite one with Du Bartas. The verse in Davies's poem is of ten syllables, the stanza being Spenserian except for the absence of an extra meassure in the last line. Characteristic of Du Bartas are the tendencies toward groups of rather elaborate comparisons, toward lengthy moralizing digressions, and toward long series of illustrations. Davies definitely classes himself with religious poets, in his preface to the king, proclaiming the joy which James's accession brings to the pure-hearted followers of the Muse. He also halts his poem at times, Sylvester-like, to offer comments and explanations in his own person.

In details of expression this poem shows a moderate degree of resemblance to Sylvester. There are some compound expressions, such as: —

1. "These super-supererogating works."[1]

2. "Who liers and sinne-soothing claw-backes are."[2]

3. "Ask that same third-Heav'n-rapt Saint what hee saw."[3]

There are numerous examples of verbal echo, and occasional instances of daring metaphor. For example: —

1. "Unhallowed sense, drown'd in that damned iuyce,
(Synnes Syder) from Eaves fatall Apple bruiz'd."[4]

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[1] *Microcosmos*, ed. 1603, p. 23.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

2. "Bloud-sucking Richard (swolne with sucking Bloud)
When Horsleech-like he had his bloody pray,
Away falls he in bloud bemired with mud,
Making his Nephews usher him the way,
For from his Crowne the Crowne was cut away." [1]

The Holy Roode is the poem of Davies that shows closest resemblance to the *Weeks*. It seems in a way to continue the biblical narrative interrupted by Du Bartas, substituting a stanza of six ten-syllable lines for Sylvester's couplets. There is a great similarity in tone and spirit, the moralizing digressions are as prominent as ever,[2] the same fondness is displayed for elaborate comparisons, not always in good taste, and the familiar tricks of detail are all present. The poem is followed by eight religious sonnets. The point to which Davies carries comparisons in this poem may be shown by these examples.

1. "A Birde there is (as Pliny doth report)
That in the time of treading sweateth bloud;
This Birde, Ciconia height, sweates so in sport,
But this kinde Pellican [3] in maestive mood." [4]

2. "And to expresse the rancor of their spight,
They blindfold him, and make his face as 'twere
A Drumme, to call his Foes 'gainst him to fight:
For, still a-tab'ring on his face they are:
So fast their fists doe fall as Drum-sticks, while
The Drumme doth sound Alarum to the broyle." [5]

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[1] Ed. 1603, p. 143.

[2] Cf. digression on p. 14, Davies, *Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. i. On page 23 there is a long digression in the shape of a comforting address to the Mother of Christ.

[3] Christ. [4] *Works*, ed. cit., i. 6. [5] *Ibid.*, i. 7.

Somewhat later there is an elaborate description of Death trying to swallow and digest Christ! Unnatural compounds stretch to a length that Sylvester must have envied. Thus there occur: "joy-griefe-breeding sight;" "all-powerful-kind Omnipotent;" "the Dead-Skull-pavèd Earth;" "woe-crosse-wounded Heart;" "Gore-rough-casted Corse;" and this example: —

> "That Sepulcher of Death, and Seate of Life,
> Thy blissfull-blislesse-blessed Body, O
> I want fit words (while Words are all at strife,)
> Thy Bodies ten-times blessed state to show "[1]

It may be remembered that Sylvester frequently pauses to deplore his lack of adequate expression. Jingle and word-play abound, sometimes with a clear suggestion of Sylvester. For example: —

1. "That in Faith, from Faith, sans Faith art a fleeter?
   Tends thy faith's fleeting to Faiths confirmation?"[2]
2. "This Foole, wise foole, holds Him, full wise, a foole."[3]
3. "Now, Soule returne, with thy sole Soules returne."[4]
4. "Make his Crosse thy Crosse-Crosse-let (treble crost)."[5]

The Muses Sacrifice, though a religious work, belongs to an entirely different type from the *Semaines*. It is best described by its subtitle, *Divine Meditations*, being really a series of poems in various metres, either meditations on sin or addresses to the Lord. No biblical narrative or description is employed, except a small bit dealing with the last judgment. In the dedication Davies offers tribute to the Heavenly Muse.

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[1] *Ibid.*, i. 24–25.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 14.
[5] *Ibid.*, i. 23.

> "But no great Spirit, (whose temper is divine,
> and dwels in reall-Greatnes) but adores
> The Heav'nly Muse, that in Arts Heav'n doth shine
> like Phœbus, lending light to other Loves." [1]

At one point [2] a list of wonders from accepted natural history is introduced to illustrate the paradox that mortals shall exist in eternal fire. A few of the figures used are somewhat startling in their conception.

For instance:—

1. "Thou art the Salve, and I the mortall Sore:
   Yet with one touch, thy vertue can revive me:
   To heale this Sore, a Speare thy heart did gore,
   (Kinde Pelican) that thy Bloud might relieve me." [3]

2. "O! juycie Bunch of Soule-refreshing grapes,
   (hard pressed in the Wine-presse of the Crosse!)
   Make druncke my thirstie Soule, that (gasping) gapes
   for thy pure bloud, to purge mine, being too grosse." [4]

Compounds and verbal echoes abound once more, the former appearing in still more extended form. The most striking examples of this are:

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[1] Ed. cit., ii. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 18.

"ignorant-great-highly-base;" "fleshly-worldly-divellish-damn'd desire;" and "great-good, good-great-great Lord." One of the verbal conceits introduces a compound that Sylvester is fond of:—

"Thou art too great, for Greatnes, ne'er so great!
 and far too good, for Goodnes, e'er so good!
Who (were it possible) art more compleate
 in Goodnesse, then thine owne Trine-unionhood!"[1]

In these three works of Davies, especially *The Holy Roode*, the general impression made upon the reader goes much farther to confirm the notion of influence from Du Bartas than any mechanical grouping of resemblances in detail could be expected to do. Taking into account the outspoken regard of Davies for the *Semaines* and their translator, there can be little doubt that he followed their lead in these portions of his work.

Another poet of about the same time acknowledges his devotion to the poetry of Du Bartas, and in one way and another shows the influence of it. This is Michael Drayton, whose *Moyses in a Map of Miracles* was published in 1604, with a dedication to Du Bartas and his translator. This poem, somewhat altered, was republished in 1630 as part of the collection, *The Muses Elizium*, which also contained "Noah's Flood" and "David and Golia." The poem was now entitled "Moses, his Birth and Miracles," and the dedication was retained.

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[1] *Ibid.*, ii. 32.

After calling upon the Muse to lift his verse above the earth and the "Atheists vituperious sting,"[1] he says: —

"And thou translator of that faithfull Muse
This Alls creation that divinely song,
From courtly French (no travaile dost refuse)
To make him master of thy genuin tong,
Salust to thee and Silvester thy friend,
Comes my high poem peacably and chaste,
Your hallow'd labours humbly to attend
That wrackfull Time shall not have power to waste."[2]

Actual evidence of influence from Du Bartas in Drayton's "Moses" is surprisingly slight. The verse is of ten syllables, arranged in quatrains with alternate rhyme, the "Arguments" being in rhyming couplets of eight-syllable verse. The general order of events recounted is of course that in Du Bartas's "The Law," since both are based on the Bible narrative. Drayton's account is much longer than that of Du Bartas, however, and in every way independent. It is much better poetry, and is not marked by the peculiarities of style seen in the *Semaines*. Such similarities of phrasing as occur may be mere coincidence. Indeed, from one of Drayton's statements we may wonder if at that time he had ever seen the portion of Du Bartas devoted to these events. When about to describe the plagues of Egypt, he appeals again for Divine aid, for: —

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[1] Cf. Sylvester's "Curst Atheists quipt," in Argument to First Day of *First Week*.

[2] "Moses, his Birth and Miracles," ll. 29 *sq*.

"A taske unusuall I must now assay,
Striving through perill to support this masse,
No former foot did ever tract a way,
Where I propose unto myselfe to passe."[1]

Indeed, it is possible that when Drayton made the first draft of this poem and dedicated it to Du Bartas and Sylvester, he may have known them chiefly by reputation. Even though he embodied no borrowings from them in his revised "Moses" in 1630, he seems to have had Sylvester under observation in the composition of the companion piece, "Noah's Flood." Both here and in the "David and Golia" the verse is of ten syllables, in rhymed couplets. The selection and arrangement of material in Drayton's poem, as well as the phraseology of the descriptions, again and again suggest Sylvester. Thus Sylvester had said of the rapid increase of population before the flood: —

"But for his [2] Children, born by three and three
Produce him children that still multiply
With new increase; who yer their age be rife
Become great-Grand-sires in their Grandsire's life."[3]

In Drayton this idea is expanded into about twenty-one lines, of which may be quoted: —

"Men then begot so soon and got so long,
That scarcely one a thousand men among,
But he ten thousand in his time might see,
That from his loynes deriv'd their Pedegree."[4]

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[1] Drayton, *The Muses Elizium,* Spenser Soc. Publ., Manchester, 1892, p. 146.

[2] Cain's.

[3] Sylvester, ed. 1641, p. 106*a*.

[4] *Muses Elizium,* ed. cit., p. 90.

Drayton's account of the creatures coming to the ark consists of animals, reptiles, and fowls, with brief characterizing or descriptive mention of each one, — in close resemblance to the plan of Du Bartas in his Fifth and Sixth Days of the *First Week*. Only part of the time do the comments resemble Du Bartas's, the order is changed, and there are other differences; but there is still an impressive parallel. Moreover, Drayton's digression to meet scoffers' skeptical objections is entirely in line with Du Bartas's method of procedure, for the latter also takes up these objections and answers them similarly.[1] Later in the narrative Noah's discourse to his family in the ark parallels the remarks ascribed to him by Sylvester,[2] including the first part of his reply to skeptical Cham. The really striking resemblance, however, occurs in the description of the actual downpour and its effects, where both general plan and detail of expression correspond.[3] In connection with this description there is one comparison in Drayton that seems thoroughly in the tone of Sylvester: —

"That through her pores, the soft and spungy earth
As in a dropsie, or unkindely birth,
A Woman, swolne, sends from her fluxie wombe
Her woosie springs, that there was scarcely roome
For the waste waters which came in so fast . . .
Furrow'd the earths late plumpe and cheerefull face
Like an old Woman that in little space

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 116.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[3] Cf. the list of parallels, appendix B.

With ryveld cheekes, and with bleard blubberd eyes
She wistly look'd upon the troubled skyes." [1]

Drayton's poem also contains a large number of compounds, but only one of the elongated sort, — "that forty-dayes still-falling raine." [2] In the "David and Golia" there is little resemblance to Sylvester except what would arise from the fact that both follow the Bible story.

In 1605 was published a group of poems — *The Soules Immortall Crowne* — by Nicholas Breton. These have a title-page which appears rich in suggestion of the *Semaines*. It reads: —

The
Soules immortall Crowne consisting of
Seven glorious graces
1. Vertue. 2. Wisedome. 3. Love. 4. Constancie.
5. Patience. 6. Humilitie. 7. Infiniteness.
Devided into Seaven dayes Workes,
and
Dedicated to the Kings most excellent Majestie.
1605.

On investigation, however, it develops that this "seven-day" arrangement has no real significance. The general divisions are headed: — "The first days work," "The second days work," etc.; but they are devoted entirely to abstract moral philosophizing along the line of the virtues mentioned. Only in the last part is there any dependence on the Bible. To Wisdom, indeed, is ascribed with some detail all the work of creation, and in the seventh division this account is repeated in brief and reascribed to the power of Infinite Glory. It is then, after all, only the external scheme of arrangement that Breton has found in Du Bartas.

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[1] *Muses Elizium*, ed. cit., p. 107.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Giles and Phineas Fletcher appear to have been under the influence of Sylvester's translations; but these men were such thorough-going disciples of Spenser, and Sylvester himself employed so many Spenserian characteristics, that there is little hope of making nice distinctions. Both the Fletchers paid their tribute to Du Bartas as a worthy leader in the sacred calling they valued so highly. Giles, in the Preface to *Christs Victorie and Triumph*, 1610, mentions Nonnius and Sannazaro as particularly zealous in Christian poesy, the latter having spent ten years on a Song to Christ's Birthday. Then he adds: "thrice-honoured Bartas and our (I know no other name more glorious than his own) Mr. Edmund Spenser (two blessed souls), not thinking ten years enough, laying out their whole lives upon this one study."[1] Phineas embodies in his *Purple Island* a complimentary stanza that appears also to refer to Du Bartas:—

"And that French Muse's eagle eye and wing
Hath soar'd to heav'n, and there hath learn'd the art
To frame angelick strains, and canzons sing
Too high and deep for every shallow heart.
Ah blessed soul! in those celestiall rayes,

---

[1] Giles Fletcher, *Poems*, ed. Grosart (Early English Poets), London, 1876, p. 115.

> Which gave thee light these lower works to blaze,
> Thou sit'st emparadis'd and chaunt'st eternall layes."[1]

There seems to be nothing in *Christs Victorie and Triumph* that is distinctly Sylvestrian. Verbal echo with its attendant word-play is rather common, just as it is in Spenser, and compounds are no more frequent than in that poet. The poem shows a somewhat marked tendency to elaborate its comparisons beyond the limits of good taste, — a tendency already manifest in Spenser, but one which a familiar knowledge of the *Divine Weeks* would of course have encouraged considerably.

A consideration of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, which, though printed as late as 1633, he declares to be the "raw essayes of my very unripe yeares, and almost childehood,"[2] raises the probability of a line of connection, complicated but intensely interesting. Attention has already been given[3] to the idea that Spenser's House of Alma, in the Second Book of the *Faerie Queene*, drew upon Du Bartas's description of the body as the dwelling-place of the soul; further, that Sylvester, in his translation of this part of Du Bartas, shows a familiarity with the phrasing employed in the House of Alma. That there is a parallel between the House of Alma and certain portions of the *Purple Island* is obvious. Indeed, Fletcher himself bears witness to it, just after his account of Understanding, Phantastes, and Eumnestes.[1] But there are various other portions of Fletcher's poem, for which Spenser affords no parallel, but which have a striking resemblance to Sylvester's version of that part of Du Bartas just mentioned as a probable source for Spenser. Indeed, whenever Fletcher, attracted by the allegorical possibilities which the House of Alma suggested, and conscious of Spenser's indebtedness to the French poet, turned to the *Semaines* themselves, he must have found there, in little, the essence of the very notion which formed the basis of his whole poem. Sylvester, following Du Bartas, thus describes the circulation of the blood, offering a clear suggestion for a "Purple Island": —

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[1] Phineas Fletcher, *Works*, ed. Grosart (Fuller Worthies Libr.), iv. 42.

[2] *Works*, ed. cit., iv. 21–22. Grosart in the Memoir (i. p. lxxvii) calls attention to similar references in the body of the poem.

[3] *Supra*, p. 169 *sq*.

"And then the same doth faithfully deliver
Into the Port-vain passing to the Liver,
Who turns it soon to blood; and thence again
Through branching pipes of the great Hollow-vain,
Through all the members doth it duly scatter:
Much like a Fountain, whose divided water
It selfe dispersing into hundred Brooks,
Bathes some fair Garden with her winding crooks.
For, as these Brooks, thus branching round about,
Make here the Pink, there th' Aconite to sprout,
Here the sweet Plum-tree, the sharp Mulberry there,
Here the lowe Vine, and there the lofty Pear,
Heer the hard Almond, there the tender Fig,
Heer bitter Worm-wood, there sweet-smelling Spike:
Even so the blood (bred of good nourishment)
By divers Pipes to all the Body sent,

---

[1] Ed. cit., p. 183. See appendix B.

> Turns here to Bones, there changes into nerves,
> Heer is made Marrow, there for Muscle serves,
> Heer skin becomes, there crooking veins, there flesh,
> To make our Limbs more forcefull and more fresh." [1]

In view of the numerous bits of description which reveal a parallel between Fletcher and Sylvester,[2] either with or without the intervention of Spenser, the notion of this indebtedness becomes decidedly tenable. Not merely in this essential description of the flow of the blood, but at considerable length in the accounts of the mouth, the stomach, the lungs, the eyes, the ears, and the tongue, Fletcher shows a fidelity to the accounts in Sylvester that certainly cannot be mere coincidence. There is also a close parallel between Fletcher's praise of the country life, at the beginning of the Twelfth Canto, and Sylvester's remarks on the same theme at the close of the Third Day, *First Week.*[2] This is much less significant, however, because such matter served then as a conventional theme for every poet of any pretensions whatever.

For this same reason of conventional usage, it is perhaps unwise to give serious notice to passages in William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613–1616), which also parallel Sylvester's tribute to the joys of country life. It may be noted in addition that Browne employs the heroic couplet as does Sylvester, and at one point in the Pastorals speaks in praise of Du Bartas, using the same pun which tradition assigns to Ronsard.[1]

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 55*a*.

[2] See appendix B.

"Divinest Bartas, whose enriched soul
Proclamed his Maker's worth, should so enroll
His happy name in brass, that Time nor Fate
That swallows all, should ever ruinate:
Delightful Saluste, whose all-blessed lays
The shepherds make their hymns on holy days;
And truly say, thou in one week hast penn'd,
What time may ever study, ne'er amend." [2]

That William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, for many years the Scottish literary adviser of James I. in England, should have been led to imitate Du Bartas, is a matter of no surprise. His *Doomesday or The Great Day of the Lord's Judgement*, of which four books or "Hours" were published in 1614, follows the general plan of the *Semaines*, except that he treats the twelve successive hours of only one day — the day of judgment. He uses heroic verse, as does Sylvester, but keeps an eight-line stanza throughout. As early as 1612 Drummond of Hawthornden mentions having seen some of this poem, and compares it to the product of Du Bartas. He is describing in a letter his first meeting with Alexander, and says: "Tables removed, after Homer's fashion well satiate, he honoured me so much as to show me his books and papers. This much I will say and perchance not without reason dare say: he hath done more in one day than Tasso did all his life and Bartas in his two weeks, though both one and the other be most praiseworthy."[1]

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[1] On first reading the *Première Semaine*, Ronsard is reported to have said: " M. Du Bartas a plus fait en une septmaine que je n'ay fait en toute ma vie" (Gidel, *Hist. de la litt. franç*, p. 302).

[2] Browne, *Poems*, ed. G. Goodwin, London, 1894, i. 223.

Du Bartas and his translator have much to say of the Day of Doom, which is to usher in the eternal Sabbath; and would have said more had their narrative progressed to the end of the *Second Week*. Doomsday is discussed in the First Day of the *First Week*, prefaced in Sylvester's Argument by a reference to "Doom's glorious day." In the "Eden," Sylvester says again: —

"Let me this Totall bring
From thy first Sabbath to his fatall Tomb,
My stile extending to the Day of Doom."[2]

A more definite mention occurs in "The Handicrafts," where Adam prophesies to Seth the seven days of the "second week." He concludes this: —

"The Last shall be the very Resting-day,
Th' air shall be mute, the Waters works shall stay;
The Earth her store, the stars shall leave their
measures,
The Sun his shine: and in eternal pleasures
We plunged, in Heav'n shall ay solemnize, all,
Th' eternall Sabbath's end-less Festivall."[3]

Similarly, Alexander entreats in opening: —

"Breathe thou a heavenly fury in my brest:
I sing the Sabbath of eternall rest."

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[1] Quoted by David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden*, London, 1873, p. 41.

[2] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 81*a*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 108*b*.

Alexander's "First Hour," which is the introduction to his account proper, is a sort of résumé of the events of Bible history which form the material of *La Seconde Semaine.* In a number of cases his language closely follows that used by Sylvester for the same account. Examples follow: —

1. *Doomesday,* First Hour.

> "He, who his strength in heaven in vaine had try'd,
> (As dogs bite stones for him who hath them throwne,)
> Did hunt God's image, when in Adam spy'd,
> And (grudging at his state) despised his owne."[1]

SYLVESTER, "The Imposture."

> "And th' envious hart-break to see (yet) to shine
> In Adam's face God's image all divine,
> Which he had lost."[2]

2. *Doomesday,* First Hour.

> "He brimstone rain'd (O most prodigious shoure!)
> Their bodies burn'd whose souls were burn'd with lust."[3]

SYLVESTER, "The Vocation."

> "Fire punished their beastly Fire within,
> And Brimston's stink the stench of their foul Sin."[4]

3. *Doomesday,* First Hour.

> "Over them a cloud by day, by night fire stood,
> A guide, a guard, a shadow and a sunne."[5]

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[1] Alexander, *Works,* ed. Glasgow, 1872, iii. 22.
[2] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 90*a*.
[3] Alexander, ed. cit., iii. 30.
[4] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 155*b*.
[5] Alexander, ed. cit., iii. 33.

Sylvester, "The Law."

"for, compast aye
With Fire by Night, & with a Cloud by Day,
Thou (my Soul's hope) wert their sole Guide and
Guard." [1]

The *Doomesday* and the *Semaines*, apart from their similarity in plan and purpose, have numerous characteristics in common. Alexander shows the tendency, already noted in Du Bartas, to mingle Greek and Roman divinities in his Christian poem. He gets immense satisfaction from the massing of great troops of illustrations, — from the lists of fish, flesh, and fowl that must perish in the last fire, to the catalogues of famous sinners. He is fond of long digressions, preferably of a moralizing or preaching type. The elaborate comparisons of Du Bartas give way before Alexander's fondness for striking and epigrammatic expression. Compounds are fairly frequent, some of them of good length; as, "The sight-confining-crystall-covered skies." The reduplications, noted as peculiar to Du Bartas and not actually finding a place in Sylvester's version, crop out here, indicating that Alexander was perfectly familiar with the French *Semaines* as well as with the English version. The examples of this peculiarity are: —

1. "By corkasses flot-flotting in a masse."
2. "The crystals . . .
   Growne red with rage, boil'd up, pop-popling
   stay." [2]

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[1] Sylvester, ed. cit., p. 171*b*.

[2] Both on p. 96 of the edition cited.

Drummond, whose first meeting with his later friend Alexander was concerned with imitation of Du Bartas, was himself interested in Du Bartas and his translators. Although thinking little of Sylvester's first-hand attempts at poetry, he praises his translations freely and compares them with Hudson's to the discredit of the latter.[1] Indeed, one of Drummond's poems, "An Hymn of the Fairest Fair," published in *Flowers of Sion*, 1623, gives considerable indication of influence from Du Bartas. The verse is heroic couplet; and a short quotation shows, crowded into small compass, compounds, verbal conceit, elaborate comparison from contemporary science, and the deploring of the author's inadequate power of expression, — all familiar characteristics of Du Bartas: —

"Great causes, sure ye must bring great effects,
But who can descant right your grave aspects?
He only who you made, decipher can
Your notes; heaven's eyes, ye blind the eyes of man.

* * * * *

Amidst these sapphire far-extended heights,
The never-twinkling, ever-wandring lights
Their fixed motions keep; one dry and cold,
Deep-leaden colour'd, slowly there is roll'd;
With rule and line for time's steps measur'd even.
In twice three lustres he but turns his heaven.
With temperate qualities and countenance fair,
Still mildly smiling, sweetly debonair,
Another cheers the world, and way doth make
In twice six autumns through the zodiac."[2]

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[1] Drummond, *Wks.*, folio ed., Edinburgh, 1711, p. 227.

[2] Drummond, *Poems*, ed. Ward, London and New York, 1894, ii. 43–44.

From Drummond, too, comes the final information regarding Ben Jonson's opinion of Du Bartas. Jonson, acknowledging his weakness in French, but expressing admiration of Sylvester's English, had declared in 1605, in a sonnet "To Mr. Jos. Sylvester": —

> "Bartas doth wish thy English now were his.
> So well in that are his inventions wrought,
> As his will now be the translation thought,
> Thine the originall; and France shall boast,
> No more these mayden glories she hath lost." [1]

In the notes which Drummond took of Jonson's conversations with him, some years later, a far different tone appears. At one time Jonson speaks of Du Bartas. "His Judgment of stranger poets," says Drummond, "was, That he thought not Bartas a Poet, but a Verser, because he wrote not Fiction." [2] Again he is made to say, still less favorably: "that Silvester's translation of Du Bartas was not well done; and that he [3] wrote his verses before he understood to confer." [2] Drummond offers no explanation or comment on these opinions, beyond his one general statement, "Jonson neither doth understand French nor Italiannes." [4]

The devotion to Urania continued through the middle of the seventeenth century, operating under various impulses and producing various results. The narrative or epic poem, paraphrasing Bible material, or at least dealing with sacred story, is a frequently recurring type. The list begins with *The Divine Poems* of Francis Quarles, written between 1620 and 1633, and including "A Feast of Worms," "Hadassa," "Job Militant," and "Sampson." Before 1630 John Taylor, the Water Poet, had written a "Urania," accompanied by *The Sieges and Sackings of Jerusalem.* A few years later appeared *The History of Joseph*, by Thomas Salisbury, and the *Davideis* of Abraham Cowley. Immediately following the Restoration came Milton's epics. While all these poems were written under a multiplicity of influences, by men of wide reading in their own and foreign languages, there remains the strong probability that in most cases the familiar models handed down from Du Bartas must have played some part. Indeed, in several instances, there are strong particular reasons for regarding the *Divine Weeks* as a potent factor in the shaping of the poem.

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[1] Jonson, *Wks.*, ed. Gifford, London, 1875, viii. 231.

[2] Drummond, *Wks.*, folio ed., 1711, p. 225.

[3] Jonson, apparently. The "verses" refer to his sonnet of praise, written before he knew French well enough to compare a translation with its original.

[4] Jonson, *Wks.*, ed. Gifford, viii. 239.

The Divine Poems of Quarles give distinctly the general impression of Sylvestrian narrative, with most of the figurative excesses and verbal tricks omitted. There is the same ten-syllable couplet, though each "Argument" is compressed into two eight-syllable couplets. There is the same dull wordiness as in Sylvester, with a kindred lack of poetic inspiration. There is the same excessive fondness for moralizing, except that Quarles has systematized his efforts by following each section of his poems with an appropriate "Meditation," numbered to correspond. These vary considerably in their tone, some being devoutly worshipful, others bitterly satirical. The material is frequently that of Du Bartas's interpolations. One instance in particular demands notice, offering a close parallel to Du Bartas's description of the Soul's abode in the Body — the "House of Alma" conception of Spenser. The Twelfth Meditation in "A Feast of Worms" says of Man: —

"His body is a well erected station,
But full of folly and corrupted passion:
Fond love, and raging lust, and foolish fears;
Griefs overwhelmed with immod'rate tears;
Excessive joy; prodigious desire;
Unholy anger, red and hot as fire;
These daily clog the soul, that's fast in prison,
From whose encrease this luckless brood is risen,
Respectless Pride, and lustful idleness,
Base ribauld talk, and loathsom Drunkenness,
Faithless Despair, and Vain Curiosity:
Both false, yet double-tongu'd Hypocrisie;
Soft flattery, and haughty ey'd Ambition;
Heart-gnawing Hatred, and squint-ey'd Suspition;
Self-eating Envy, envious Detraction,
Hopeless distrust, and too too sad Dejection;
Revengeful Malice, hellish Blasphemy,
Idolatry, and light Inconstancy;
Daring Presumption, wry-mouth'd Derision,
Damned Apostasie, fond Superstition.
What heedful watch? Ah what continuall ward?
How great respect, and howerly regard
Stands man in hand to have; when such a brood
Of furious hell-hounds seek to suck his blood?

Day, night, and hour, they rebel, and wrastle,
And never cease, till they subdue the Castle."[1]

It is true that there are various points about the *Divine Poems* that indicate indebtedness to Spenser or perhaps to the Italian epics from which he drew, and the passage just quoted might thus be accounted for sufficiently by the "House of Alma." There is, however, this important difference: Spenser refers to the hostile bands surrounding Alma's castle, but does not give their names or interpretation. Du Bartas and Sylvester name them very much in the manner of Quarles.

There is every reason that Quarles should have been attracted by the work of Sylvester, a man who cared so much for the fantastic externals of verse-making, for anagrams, acrostics, and emblematic designs. Yet there is absolutely no mention of Sylvester or Du Bartas in the introductory material to any of the *Divine Poems,* and it is in the conceits of Sylvester that Quarles seems to follow him least. All the peculiarities already noted in the *Divine Weeks* appear occasionally in these poems of Quarles, but they are too rare to be of value as evidence. The cataloguing of animals, with a somewhat elaborate account of their supposed characteristics occurs a few times. Thus, in the "Job Militant," God calls Job's attention to a number of creatures as evidences of divine creative power.[2] These descriptions culminate in a long and exaggerated picture of Leviathan.[1] A longer list, with many compound adjectives, enumerates the unclean meats forbidden to the pregnant mother of Samson.[2] Mechanically worked out comparisons, sometimes trivial, sometimes in bad taste, are fairly frequent. Jonah's correction at the hands of God is compared to a lad's first experiences at boarding-school;[3] much figurative significance is found in the rib from which Eve was formed;[4] and the gatherings of Job's family suggest to Quarles the care of a hen over her brood.[5] One appeal of the poet to his God calls Du Bartas vaguely to one's mind. At the opening of "Hadassa," Quarles says: —

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[1] Quarles, *Divine Poems,* ed. London, 1632, pp. 46–47.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 239 *sq.*

> "Be thou the Load-star to my wand'ring mind,
> New rigg'd and bound upon a new Adventure:
> O fill my Canvass with a prosp'rous wind:
> Unlock my soul, and let thy Spirit enter."[6]

This again might have come from the end of Spenser's first book of the *Faerie Queene*, but hardly could the prayer that appears a few pages later: —

> "Lord, if my Cards be bad, yet lend me skill
> To play them wisely, and make the best of ill."[7]

The rather frequent verbal echoes and jingles in these poems of Quarles might all have been modeled on Spenser, as might also the simple compounds that occur. The only compound of more than two parts occurs in the Samson: "To see this flesh-and-blood-relenting sight."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 268–269.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Such evidence as this succeeds in establishing very little, especially for poems written so late as these were. A possible partial influence, including an initial impulse, is the most that could be claimed. In the case of Taylor, there is at least the fact that he recognized the position of the poetry of Du Bartas, and paid tribute to author and translator. In his "Description of Naturall English Poetry," he says: —

> "Du Bartas heavenly all admired Muse,
> No unknowne Language ever us'd to use:
> But as he was a Frenchman, so his lines
> In native French with fame most glorious shines,
> And in the English tongue tis fitly stated,
> By silver-tongued Silvester translated,
> So well, so wisely, and so rarely done,
> That he by it immortall fame hath wonne."[2]

Taylor's emphatic declaration that he knew no French[3] detracts from the value of part of this, though another reference to Du Bartas[4] indicates that he knew the poems, if only in translation. By the time Taylor's "Urania" appeared in 1630, there was of course so wide a vogue of poems of this sort that there was no need for him to draw upon Du Bartas. There may, however, be some significance in the fact that immediately after this poem, in the folio edition of his works, appeared "The Sieges and Sackings of Jerusalem," that one of his poems which bears closest resemblance, in both matter and form, to the work of Sylvester.

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[1] *Divine Poems*, ed. cit., p. 356.

[2] Taylor, *Works*, folio edition, London, 1630, p. 386.

[3] *Infra*, p. 248.

[4] In *Drink and Welcome*, published 1637, in vol. ii. of his *Tracts*, Spenser Soc. Publ., London, 1870.

Cowley's *Davideis*, modeled upon the ~~*Iliad*~~, Aenei and showing unmistakable relations to Marino's *Strage degli Innocenti* or Crashaw's translation — *Sospetto D'Herode* — from Marino's first book,[1] was still farther removed in time from Du Bartas and his translator. It is in the metre of Sylvester; it deals with and elaborates a portion of Bible story narrated in "Les Capitaines" and "Les Trophées"; it digresses at one point into a seventy-line description of Creation; and it rejoices in ponderous comparisons drawn from the material details of science. But such resemblances as these give way before a closer study of Cowley's real inspiration — the new impulse toward the religious epic which he had just encountered in France. That he considered the *Davideis* an innovation for England is shown by the preface to the edition of his works published in 1656. Apropos of the *Davideis* he has discussed at some length the need for great poems on divine or religious subjects. Then he concludes: "I am far from assuming to myself to have fulfilled the duty of this weighty undertaking; but sure I am, there is nothing yet in our language (nor perhaps in any) that is in any degree answerable to the idea that I conceive of it. And I shall be ambitious of no other fruit from this weak and imperfect attempt of mine, but the opening of a way to the courage and industry of some other persons, who may be better able to perform it thoroughly and successfully." [1]

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[1] Cf. J. M. McBryde, Jr., "A Study of Cowley's Davideis," in *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, ii. 454 *sq.*

One interesting line of connection occurs at this point.[2] In the summary written by Du Bartas's editor, Simon Goulart de Senlis, and prefixed to "Les Trophées," in which the story of David is given, appear these statements: —

> "Le Poete represente les principaux poincts d'icelle histoire en onze cens vers ou environs, choisissant ce qui lui a semblé plus digne d'estre compris en l'œuvre par lui entrepris. Car une Davideide vaudroit bien le cours d'une Eneide, ou le nombre des livres de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssee ensemble si quelque Chrestien et docte poete François vouloit y employer le temps et l'estude, comme un si noble et fertile sujet le merite."

This direct suggestion of the kind of work Cowley undertook deserves comparison with his own statement in his preface: "I come now to the last part which is the Davideis, or an heroical poem of the troubles of David: which I designed into twelve books; not for the tribes' sake, but after the pattern of our master Virgil." [3] Some further weight is given this consideration by the fact that Du Bartas's *Judith* had been avowedly cast in the classic mold.

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[1] Cowley, *Poems*, Cambridge English Classics, 1905, p. 14.

[2] Cf. J. M. McBryde, *op. cit.*, p. 483 *sq.*

[3] Cowley, *Poems*, ed. cit., 1905, p. 11.

CALIF

The question of Milton's relations to Du Bartas was one of great importance to certain scholars of a century ago,[1] but of late it has almost disappeared from view. The citations and parallels brought out by this scholarship were of no particular value. The one thing of possible importance in the argument of Dunster, the leading advocate for the influence of Du Bartas, was the fact that certain editions of Sylvester's works, notably the important folio edition of 1621, were printed by "Humphrey Lownes dwelling on Bread-street-hill," in the immediate vicinity of the Milton home. Lownes was an ardent Puritan, in sympathy with the tone of Sylvester's poetry. Milton's father was a Puritan and presumably a friend of Lownes. Dunster's inference was that the young Milton, then at an impressionable age, thus grew familiar with the poems of Du Bartas, and was attracted by them in a way that he never forgot. It is true that both poets are disciples of Urania, and that the subjects which concern them are closely akin. There is even a suggestion of Milton's whole plan in the Seventh Day of the *First Week*, thus rendered by Sylvester: —

"Who sees not also that th' unjust Decree
Of a proud Judge and Judas treachery,
The Peoples fury, and the Prelats gall,
Serv'd all as Organs to repair the Fall
Of Edens old Prince, whose luxurious pride
Made on his seed his sin for ever slide?"

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[1] Cf. Chas. Dunster, *Considerations on Milton's Early Reading*, London, 1800; also the notes in Todd's *Milton*

This idea is continued at considerable length, "with apt Similitudes" — as the marginal explanation says — "confirming the reason and declaring the right end of God's divers dealings with men." Yet there was reason enough in Milton's own experience and party affiliations to turn his creative powers to their religious theme. There are, indeed, some other resemblances with Du Bartas which add support to a probability that the *Divine Weeks*, known to Milton in his youth, readily recurred to his mind when the notion of a sacred epic arose there. Both poets found it necessary to blend the machinery of classic myth with their biblical characters. Du Bartas had depended for poetic effect, as Milton did, on "muster-rolls" of proper names. Phrases and word-combinations in Milton are frequently recalling similar expressions in the *Weeks*, although the resemblances cannot justly be called parallels.[1] The whole question lies slightly outside the scope of this study, and at best offers little more than the thread of probability indicated above.

By the time of England's civil strife, literary influences such as Du Bartas and Sylvester represented had become so various and complicated that it is next to impossible to point out definite instances of dependence. There is ample indication, however, that through the entire first half of the century, the popularity of these poets was practically intact; so that it really gave way only with the vigorous impulses of the Restoration. Numerous tributes might be quoted from men who have not been mentioned as imitators or as connected with imitators. Some of these date from the beginning of the century, when they were published in connection with Sylvester's collected works. The demand that necessitated the numerous later editions of Sylvester represents continued popularity in a material form. Sufficient late testimony is provided by a brief tribute in George Daniel's "Vindication of Poesie," published in 1646, and by a familiar statement of Dryden regarding his own youth. Daniel says, with an echo of Spenser's earlier tribute: —

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[1] Cf. Dunster, *op. cit.*

> "Nor shall the Muse of the French Eagle dye,
> Divine Sire Bartas; and the happie writt
> Of Bellay, here shall live eternallie,
> Eternizing his name, in his owne Witt." [1]

Dryden's comment in the translation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, is: "I remember, when I was a boy, I thought inimitable Spenser a mean poet in comparison of Sylvester's Du Bartas." [2]

The study of Du Bartas's influence in England has thus revealed a somewhat complicated history. The influence proceeded from two sources, the original and the translations, especially that of Joshua Sylvester. It was of two sorts, the general call to the service of Urania and the more definite effect on style and peculiarities of detail. Along both these lines Sylvester's part was similar to that of his master, except that he was a greater extremist. To Sylvester, as to his greater English contemporaries, Du Bartas, with his Protestant zeal and stylistic extravagances, offered something for which minds and tastes were well prepared. Men like Sidney and Donne could find in this poetry flights of fancy or tricks of expression to fit their need, without definitely consecrating their efforts to the Heavenly Muse. A few years later, with Sylvester's translations to localize the appeal, serious minded men of religious purpose, Drayton, Alexander, and John Davies of Hereford, found in these poems models for their own compositions based on Bible story. Back of this whole development stands the royal figure of King James, the friend of Du Bartas, the encouraging force for Sylvester, the patron of Alexander, the champion of Urania herself. As the seventeenth century proceeded, influences increased and complicated, but the poetry of Du Bartas retained a popularity that requires it to be still regarded as a factor. Only with the Restoration did these poems sink into the position of contemptuous neglect which had so soon become their lot in France.

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[1] *Poems*, ed. Grosart, 1878, i. 27.

[2] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s. v. "Sylvester."

CHAPTER V

RABELAIS

WHATEVER influence the writings of François Rabelais may have had upon English Literature, two points are very well established: this influence is scarcely appreciable for more than half a century after the first two books of *Gargantua* were written; and when it does appear, it has to do chiefly with style and spirit rather than with doctrine or ideas, — with the traditional Rabelais, perhaps, more than the reality. The real Rabelais is easily apparent in his work, — a composite figure, blending the Humanistic desire for freedom of thought and the Renaissance multiplicity of talents with a medieval fondness for encyclopedic learning and a jovial abandon to the picturesque expression of the spirit of good living.[1] In all points of controversy the medial ground was to him the attractive one; and from this point of comparative safety he turned the light of his ridicule upon the extremists. He had views that were reasonable and wholesome on philosophy, education, science, and religion. But the very eclecticism of his position made him enemies on all sides;

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[1] Cf. Émile Gebhart, *Rabelais: la Renaissance et la Réforme.* Paris, 1877.

the good-humored coarseness of his expression gave these enemies their weapons; and there grew up in men's minds, in France and throughout Europe, a traditional Rabelais, — glutton, drunkard, buffoon, and trickster,[1] — who took his place beside Machiavelli and Aretino as one of the "terrible examples" of the Renaissance. By that time the medievalism he represented had become dead matter, Humanism had run its course, and the religious reforms he had championed had played their part in various readjustments. Naturally, in the minds of many men, the only vital elements left to his work were its coarseness of tone and the laxity of life it encouraged; and these corresponded all too well with the tradition. In England this must have been especially true. The abuses of the church would no longer entirely vitalize his elaborate satire, in a land where popes and monks had ceased to be a really serious factor. Extreme Protestants, moreover, would forget his service as a reformer in their righteous zeal against so bold an advocate of unholy living; who had not scrupled, indeed, to satirize Protestant leaders in his later books.[2] To the less zealous he would appear merely as "the great jester of France."[3]

The literary influence of Rabelais, then, is not to be sought among the religious poets of England, nor in the learned circles of the nobility and its literary retainers. It is likely to appear at any time in the drama, and should be especially manifest in the satirical outbursts of literary free-lances like Thomas Nash and John Taylor, the Water Poet. The real Rabelais had been influenced by Sir Thomas More, making both Gargantua and Pantagruel rulers of Utopia, and representing the mother of Pantagruel as "fille du Roy des Amaurotes en Utopie," [1] as well as giving expression to many of the philosophical opinions of both More and Erasmus.[2] The Rabelais that England knew could seldom aspire to such company, though Francis Bacon at least is known to have been familiar with his writings.

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[1] Cf. Gebhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–18.

[2] *E.g.* the account of the offspring of "Antiphysie," *Œuvres*, ed. Duchat, Amsterdam, 1741, ii. 85.

[3] *Infra*, p. 244.

In attempting to estimate the extent of English knowledge of Rabelais on the basis of references to him and his work, an uncertainty at once arises. The books of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* were built about a giant hero of popular chap-book romance, whose story had been in general circulation some time before Rabelais turned his hand to the revision of it, and found there the very machinery he desired for his own creations.[3] *Les grandes et ines-*

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[1] Rabelais, *Pantagruel* (bk. ii.), chap. ii; cf. Rathery, *Revue contemporaine*, xxi. 42.

[2] Cf. H. Schoenfeld, "Die Beziehung der Satire Rabelais' zu Erasmus' Encomium Moriæ u. Colloquia," in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. Amer.*, viii. 1 *sq.* The "Abbey of Theleme," at the close of Rabelais's First Book, is a decidedly Utopian institution.

[3] The traditional giant Gargantua is mentioned by Claude Bourdigné in a ballade prefixed to *Legende*

timables Croniques du grant et enorme geant Gargantua, published in 1532, in the form which was apparently given them by Rabelais himself,[1] enjoyed, as he testifies in the prologue to *Pantagruel*, an immediate and vast popularity. There is no reason to suppose that the new satirical history of Pantagruel, or even the revised and expanded story of Gargantua, with all their points of excellence, entirely superseded the earlier simple narrative of the people's giant hero. In all probability the traditional Gargantua added to his biography numerous accretions from the larger narrative, with some sense of acknowledgment to Rabelais; but for the common people this biography remained still essentially a giant story. Rabelais, on the other hand, as his creation grew, eventually lost sight entirely of his original giant motive, and considered only Prince Pantagruel and his increasingly important retinue as the machinery for satire.

This popular giant story passed into England at some comparatively early date, with the other odds and ends of the romance cycles. Apparently it flourished there for a time with an audience that knew nothing of its possible connections with Rabelais; and indeed knew

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Pierre Faifeu, finished March 31, 1531, and printed in 1532. P. Sebillot, *Gargantua dans les traditions populaires*, 1883, finds stories of Gargantua most plentiful in Brittany, agreeing with the fact that *Les grandes Croniques* connect him with the Arthurian cycle.

[1] *Works*, tr. by W. F. Smith, London, 1893, i. pp. lviii–lix.

Rabelais only vaguely, if at all, as the roystering "Eulenspiegel" of French catholicism. The frequent mention of Gargantua, then, even in later Elizabethan literature, is always open to the suspicion that it is prompted merely by popular tradition. This suspicion is often greatly intensified by the associations in which the reference occurs, as in groups of legendary giants, broken down romances, and the like.

There is a corresponding difficulty in attempting to identify the influence of Rabelais by mere resemblance of tone and manner, as in certain scenes in Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, or in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair.*[1] The tone is too nearly that of the pleasure-loving common people, of every-day *bourgeois* gatherings and Elizabethan fairs and tavern frolics, to need the inspiration of a Rabelais or of any other literary figure. Even resemblance of phrase is often open to doubt, as many of the most striking expressions of Rabelais either were common property at his time or soon became so.

In France, the so-called Second Book of Rabelais's work, — *Les horribles et espovẽtables faictz et prouesses du tresrenôme Pantagruel*, was probably first published in 1532.[2] The enlarged *Gargantua*, designed to be the First Book in the series, was printed by or before 1535. The Third Book followed in 1546, the Fourth in 1548, and the Fifth, whatever may be the truth regarding its authorship, was before the public by 1564.[1] There was a *Pantagrueline Prognostication pour l'an 1533*, which was continued year by year, until in 1542 it was made a *Prognostication pour l'an perpetuel.* In England, there is entered in the *Stationers' Register* for April 6, 1592, "*Gargantua his prophesie,*" which would seem to indicate an English rendering of the *Prognostication.* According to that view, there is significance in the thought that the name Gargantua was being accepted loosely to cover the various writings of Rabelais, and that the traditional giant story was by that time being confused in English minds with the more elaborate literary creation. If this supposition could be accepted, it would aid greatly in the interpretation of two very vague entries made a trifle later. Under date of June 16, 1592, there is an entry of "*Gargantua,*" made without explanation and afterward cancelled. On December 4, 1594, there is entered "*The historie of Gargantua,*" with the note, "Provided that if this Copie doo belonge to anie other, Then this Entrance to be voide." These publications have not survived, and nothing whatever is known about them. The title appears to indicate merely a printed English version of the popular tradition, although the apparent extension of the term "Gargantua," and the short time elapsing between the entry of the *Prophesie* and the first notice of *Gargantua*, at least open the possibility of so early a translation of part of Rabelais's greater work. The translation of the first two books, by Thomas Urquhart, in 1653, was apparently called forth by a growing interest, at that time, in things satirical.

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[1] This connection has been suggested by Charles Whibley, in *Revue des Études rabelaisiennes*, i. 3.

[2] A second edition is in existence, dated 1533.

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[1] Cf. Tilley, *op. cit.*, i. 262 *sq.*, for bibliography of these editions.

Before 1580 there are at least three authentic references to Gargantua, all of them in connections that seem to point to the legendary giant hero. In 1572 the "*Brief and Necessary Instruction*" by E. D. decries, among other English books of the time, "the witles devices of Gargantua."[1] In 1575 Robert Laneham, in his letter to Humphrey Martin, describing the entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth, mentions *Gargantua* as one of the books with which Captain Cox was familiar.[2] All the other books named are in English, and the presumption follows that this one is also. Two years later Doctor Merideth Hanmer enumerates "the monstrous fables of Gargantua" in a list of popular English books.[3] As late as 1598, in the *Palladis Tamia* of Meres, *Gargantua* is condemned, together with the *Four Sons of Aymon* and the *Seven Champions*, as a book injurious for young people.[4] Here again, judging by the company it keeps, the book in mind may well be the giant story, although the question is a much more open one.

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[1] Noted by H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 56.

[2] Ed. 1822 (Philadelphia), p. 37. Noted by Anders, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[3] *Epistle Dedicatorie to the Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories of the First Six Hundred Yeares after Christ*, ed. 1619, p. ¶4. Noted by Anders, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[4] Machiavelli's *Prince* is also in the list.

There is abundant evidence that for some years prior to 1598 — in fact, beginning significantly enough just about the date of the entries quoted from the *Stationers' Register* — Rabelais and his work had been well known in England, and indeed had exercised some important literary influence. In 1590 the tract, *An Almond for a Parrot,* formerly attributed to Nash, mentions "that merry man Rablays who dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Navarre many yeares after her death, for that she was a maintainer of mirth in her life."[1] John Donne in his "Fourth Satire" (written about 1597) alludes to Panurge: —

"Nay, your Apostles were
Good pretty Linguists; so Panurgus was,
Yet a poor Gentleman; all these may pass."[2]

The *Vergidemiarum* of Joseph Hall (1597) also alludes to Rabelais: —

"But who coniur'd this bawdie Poggie's ghost,
From out the stewes of this lewde home-bred coast:
Or wicked Rablais' dronken revellings,
To grace the mis-rule of our Tavernings?"[3]

The Preludium of Edward Guilpin's *Skialetheia* (1598) has a similar reference: —

"Let Rablais with his durtie mouth discourse,
No longer blush, for they'le write ten times worse:

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[1] Nash, *Works,* ed. McKerrow, iii 341. Noted by Charles Whibley, in *Rev. des Études rab.*, i. 3.

[2] *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, Fuller Worthies Libr., i. 32.

[3] Bk. ii, satire i.

And Aretines great wit be blam'd no more,
They'le storie forth the errant arrant whore." [1]

More important than these allusions, which at most can but show growing public acquaintance, are the evidences of Rabelaisian influence, during this same period, in the work of Thomas Nash,[2] and — with less of certainty — in the English drama. There was much reason that Nash should come under the power of Rabelais. After seven years of study at Cambridge, he had gone traveling, in 1587, through France and Italy, and returned to England to a literary career largely turned to satire and invective. Like Rabelais he was the avowed foe of pedantry; and, like him again, he was immensely fond of citations from the ancients and the employment of learned commonplaces. Like Rabelais he professed a *fabliau* sort of distrust for women. Unlike him, he inveighed against gluttony and drunkenness, lingering meanwhile on the picturesque details of such conditions with an unholy joy that makes one suspicious. It is in the rôle of "tragicus Orator" that Nash likes to regard himself, railing and inveighing against the vices of his fellow-men. In this he looks to Aretino as his model,[3] professing to draw from him whatever he possesses of keenness and satirical fire, together with a fluency in the use of large but expressive words. Concluding the epistle to the Reader, before his *Lenten Stuff*, appearing almost at the end of his career, he says: "Let me speake to you about my huge woords which I use in this booke, and then you are your own men to do what you list. Know it is my true vaine to be tragicus Orator, and of all stiles I most affect and strive to imitate Aretines, not caring for this demure soft mediocre genus, that is like water and wine mixt togither." [1]

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[1] Ed. Grosart, in *Occasional Issues*, vi. 31.

[2] This has been discussed in part by Charles Whibley, in his article in *Rev. des Études rab.*, i.

[3] References to Aretino occur in *Pierce Penniless*, 1592 (*Wks.*, ed. McKerrow, i. 242), and in *Four Letters Confuted*, 1592 (*Wks.*, i. 20), together with a lengthy praise of "Aretine" in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, 1594 (*Wks.*, ii. 264).

Nowhere does he acknowledge an obligation to Rabelais, whose influence will be found operative in another side of Nash's work almost as prominent as the invective vein, though perhaps one in which he took less pride. Even in his "huge woords" the model of Rabelais seems often not far away. Except for the "*Wonderful strange and miraculous Astrologicall Prognostication*," published in 1591,[2] generally ascribed to Nash, and almost certainly modeled upon the *Pantagrueline Prognostication*, the influence of Rabelais in Nash's earlier writings seems small indeed as compared to its later prominence. But even in the early work Gabriel Harvey professed to find this influence to a degree that justified him in placing Rabelais and Aretino side by side as the models of his annoying foe.[1]

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[1] *Wks.*, ed. cit., iii. 152.

[2] Note that this was a year before the entry of "*Gargantua his prophesie*" (see p. 224). A translation of the original model may well have been called out by the success of the English work.

In Harvey's *Four Letters*, as early as 1592, he makes a plea to Nash to be a divine poet and use heavenly eloquence indeed, concluding with the statement: "Right artificiality . . . is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, or absurd, or blasphemous, or monstrous; but deep-conceited, but pleasurable, but delicate, . . . not according to the fantastical mould of Aretine or Rabelays, but according to the fine model of Orpheus, Homer, Pindarus. . . ."[2] This connection is repeated in the *New Letter of Notable Contents*, the year following: "When the sweet youth haunted Aretine, and Rabelays, the two monstrous wittes of their languages, who so shaken with the furious feavers of the One; or so attainted with the French Pockes of the Other?"[3] *Pierce's Supererogation*, also published in 1593, adds further confirmation, with a concrete detail to indicate that Harvey was familiar with Rabelais's work, and was not merely comparing his enemy to a traditional master of grossness. "Poor I," he says, " . . .

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[1] A passage like the following in Nash's reply to the *Four Letters* shows perhaps the justification of Harvey's statements: — "Why, thou arrant butter whore, thou cotqueane and scrattop of scoldes, wilt thou never leave afflicting a dead Carcasse, continually read the rethorick lecture of Ramme-Allie? a wispe, a wispe, a wispe, rippe, rippe, you kitchinstuffe wrangler." (Nash, *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 299.) The influence of Skelton, frequently seen in Nash, also appears to crop out here.

[2] Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 218.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. 272–273.

that am matched with such a Gargantuist as can devoure me quicke in a sallat."[1] The experience of Gargantua with the pilgrims, as told in Chapter 38 of the First Book, is at once recalled.

In considering the actual writings of Nash, there is one important indication of obligation to Rabelais that can of course be treated only in a general way. This is the peculiar spirit and manner which one comes to associate with the frankly coarse but good-natured "jester of France," and which seems to depend on the accumulation of small details rather than on a few striking passages. Between the *Astrologicall Prognostication*, for instance, and the *Pantagrueline Prognostication*, there is a striking resemblance in manner as well as in method of approach. Both are burlesque prophecies, getting their humor from the perfect obviousness of the things predicted, and adding in many instances the satirical touch. They both deal with the eclipses for the year and the conditions to be connected with these, as well as offering predictions for each of the four seasons. Both give some attention to the different classes and occupations of men, and to the peculiarities of other countries. With the frequent appearance of serious prognostications in both countries, it was to be expected that such parodies would arise from time to time, but in this case there seems to be much more than a chance parallel.

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[1] *Wks.*, ed. cit., ii. 224. Whibley has noted this reference, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

With *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell,* in 1592, the influence of Rabelais in authentic work of Nash begins to be manifest. The work is at basis satirical, and is emphatic in its adverse attitude toward gluttony, drinking, and carousing; yet, as noted, the very descriptions there involved are expanded with the concrete picturesqueness of coarse or absurd detail which helps to give Rabelais his tone. Already Nash shows a Rabelaisian feeling for monstrosity, as well as a peculiar delight in the play of imagination over whimsical personifications. Nash says of Master Dives, whom he makes a representative London glutton: "Miserere mei, what a fat churle it is! Why, he hath a belly as big as the round Church in Cambridge, a face as huge as the whole bodie of a bass viall, and legs that, if they were hollow, a man might keepe a mill in eyther of them." [1] Earlier in the work Nash's imagination produces this, "he that hath no mony in his purse, must go dine with Sir John Best-betrust, at the signe of the chalk and the Post." [2]

The characteristic manner of his descriptions might be illustrated from a dozen examples,[3] but the following will serve. Dame Niggardize was attired "in a sedge rug kirtle, that had beene a mat time out of minde, a course hempen raile about her shoulders, borrowed of the one end of a hop-bag, an apron made of Almanackes out of date (such as stand upon Screens, or on the backside of a dore in a Chandlers shop), and an old wives pudding pan on her head, thrumd with the parings of her nailes." She sat "barrelling up the droppings of hir nose, in steed of oyle, to saime wooll withall, and would not adventure to spit without halfe a dozen porrengers at her elbow."[1] The rats and the mice—

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[1] Nash, *Wks.*, ed. McKerrow, i. 199–200. Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 10, quotes this to illustrate Nash's feeling for monstrosity.

[2] *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 163.

[3] *E.g.* "the Usurer," p. 162; "Greediness," p. 166; "Old hacksters," p. 181. *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) has others of the same sort.

> "went a Boot-haling one night to Sinior Greedinesse bed-chamber, where, finding nothing but emptines and vastitie, they encountered (after long inquisition) with a cod-piece, wel dunged and manured with greace (which my pinch-fart penie-father had retaind from his Bachelorship, untill the eating of these presents). Uppon that they set, and with a couragious assault rent it cleene away from the breeches, and then carried it in triumph, like a coffin, on their shoulders betwixt them."[2]

In his controversial pamphlets against Harvey, Nash had particular opportunity to employ the art of railing drawn from Aretino. Yet in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, published in 1596, and the bitterest contribution to the controversy, it appears that the imitation of Rabelais, seen earlier chiefly in the tone of Nash's descriptions, has grown to a degree that makes one wonder if the more influential model was French or Italian. To the traces of Rabelais's influence already noted are now added a more elaborate sort of fooling and a tendency toward accumulation of parallel terms in series, besides certain detailed resemblances that are unmistakable. He freely coins new words of a decidedly Rabelaisian sort, and at the same time ridicules the pedantic vocabulary of his unwieldy antagonist, as Rabelais did that of the Limousin scholar, and of Master Janotus de Bragmardo. The tendency to intersperse more or less learned citations also appears, though this may have been easily picked up from the Humanists anywhere. Indeed, it must be remembered that many of these traits from Rabelais should have aided Nash greatly in constructing his parody of Harvey's cumbrous style.

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[1] *Wks.*, ed. cit., i. 167. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 168.

Have With You is solemnly dedicated to a barber, with a wealth of rambling phraseology of which this is a fair specimen: " . . . paraphrasticall gallant Patron Dick, as good a fellow as ever was Heigh, fill the pot, hostesse: courteous Dicke, comicall Dicke, lively Dicke, lovely Dicke, learned Dicke, olde Dicke of Lichfield, Jubeo te plurimum saluere, which is by interpretation, I joy to heare thou hast so profited in gibridge."[1] Presenting a "grace in behalf of the Harveys," Nash says: "for anie time this foure and twentie yeare they have plaid the fantasticall gub-shites and goose-giblets in Print, and kept a hatefull scribling and a pamphleting about earth-quakes, coniunctions, inundations, the fearfull blazing Starre, and the forsworne Flaxe-wife; and tooke upon them to be false Prophets, Weather-wizards, Fortune-tellers, Poets, Philosophers, Orators, Historiographers, Mountebankes, Ballet-Makers, and left no Arte undefamed with their filthie dull-headed practise."[1] "I have handled it," says Nash of Harvey's picture, "so neatly, and so sprightly, and withall ouzled, gidumbled, muddled and drizled it so finely, that I forbid ever a Hauns Ball, Hauns Holbine, or Hauns Mullier of them all . . . to amend it."[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, iii. 5. Noted by Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Nash's derision of Harvey's scholar's vocabulary finds expression in "An Oration, including most of the miscreated words and sentences in the Doctors Booke."[3] There is an account of the birth of Harvey and a letter describing the youth's first education,[4] which are almost certainly modeled on similar statements concerning the birth of Pantagruel, and on Gargantua's letter to him regarding his education.[5]

One typical passage contains direct reference to Gargantua and his gluttony: "but when I came to unrip and unbumbast this Gargantuan bag-pudding, and found nothing in it but dogs-tripes, swines livers, oxe galls, and sheepes gutts, I was in a bitterer chafe than any Cooke at a long Sermon when his meate burnes."[6] Certainly here there can be little suspicion of the intervention of the chap-book giant. A few pages later there appears a sentence which by itself might have little weight, owing to the possibility of various other sources. "He . . . will," says Nash, "like a true Millanoys, sucke figges out of an asses fundament or do anything." This is evidently based on the story of Frederick Barbarossa's unique punishment of the citizens of conquered Milan. The story is repeated in the Fourth Book of Rabelais, chapter 45.

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[1] *Wks.*, ed. cit., iii. 12. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 38. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 43 *sq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 60 *sq.* Noted by Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[5] Bk. ii, chaps. 1–8.

[6] *Wks.*, ed. cit., iii. 34.

Nash's *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, involving the "Praise of Red Herring," shows the influence of Rabelais extended into the later writings. Nash acknowledges the frivolity of his undertaking, with an apology for leaving his preferred serious vein. Again there is a mock-serious dedication, with a rambling style, and the frequent appearance of large words, of which the author makes the rather vague mention already quoted.[1] The dedication begins: —

> "To his worthie good patron, Lustie Humfrey, according as the townsmen doo christen him, little Numps, as the Nobilitie and Courtiers do name him, and Honest Humfrey, as all his friends and acquaintance esteeme him, King of the Tobacconists hic et ubique, and a singular Mæcænas to the Pipe and the Tabour (as his patient livery attendant can witnesse) his bounden Orator T. N. most prostrately offers up this tribute of inke and paper. . . . These be to notifie your diminutive excelsitude and compendiate greatnesse, what my zeale is towardes you. . . ."[2]

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[1] *Supra*, p. 228.

[2] *Wks.*, ed. cit., iii. 147.

The genial burlesque of the whole work is perhaps its most clearly Rabelaisian feature. The stories of the origin of Herring and Ling from Hero and Leander, and the sainting of the Herring by the Pope are sport of the imagination that would have been dear to Rabelais's heart. Yet throughout one receives the impression that, although Nash is almost certainly following Rabelais, it is at a considerable distance. The burlesque humor seems diluted, the picturesque realism lacks the broad frankness of the model, and even the new-coined words appear forced instead of spontaneous. Nash's limit in this matter of coinages is reached in the sentence, "Physitions deafen our eares with the Honorificabilitudinitatibus of their heavenly Panachæa, their soveraigne Guiacum, . . ." [1] There is a noticeable resemblance to Rabelais's "Sorbonicolificabilitudinissement," used in *La Chreme Philosophale des Questions Encyclopedicques de Pantagruel.*[2] There is another allusion to Gargantua in the *Lenten Stuffe*, as follows: "Nothing behinde in number with the invincible Spanish Armada, though they were not such Gargantuan boysterous gulliguts as they, though ships and galeasses they would have beene reckoned in the navy of K. Edgar." [3]

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[1] *Wks.*, ed. cit., iii. 176. Note that the ending used is correct for the case construction, which is not true in John Taylor's use of the same word. See p. 252. The employment of the word in ridicule of Shakespeare's Holofernes suggests that it was a stock jest directed at pedantic phraseology. See p. 238.

[2] *Œuvres*, ed. 1741, ii. 333.

[3] *Wks.*, ed. cit., iii. 157.

It may even be slightly significant that in this same work[1] Nash protests against the misconstructions placed upon his previous writings, much in the manner of Rabelais in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Fourth Book.

The question of Rabelaisian influence in the Elizabethan drama is necessarily a very uncertain one. Parallels of one sort and another are constantly being suggested; but general resemblances in mood must usually give way before the possibility of drawing such a spirit directly from common life; while the recurrence of a striking phrase or idea too often proves to be only the reappearance of something entirely conventional. The best that can be done is to indicate the parallels that are less strongly open to suspicion. To make valid the resemblances in Shakespeare, we must either accept a reasonable knowledge of French on his part,[2] or pre-suppose the earlier English translation of Rabelais already discussed.[3]

The pedantic Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost,* though a stock character of continental comedy, certainly appears to have a direct prototype in Tubal Holofernes, the pedant tutor of Gargantua, who, under the hospitable treatment of Grandgousier, directed the young giant's rudimentary training with such zeal that he learned to recite his A B C's backwards.[4] Shakespeare's Holofernes, with the Latinate vocabulary that Rabelais took delight in ridiculing, was employed in teaching boys the horn-book, and was graciously received at the tables of his patrons. It is probably going too far to compare with Gargantua's achievement above, the question of Moth to Shakespeare's pedant, "What is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn on his head?" but mention should be made of the word "honorificabilitudinitatibus," which Costard repeats as among the best of Holofernes' pedantic store.[1] *Love's Labour's Lost* was probably written as early as 1591.

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[1] *Ibid.*, iii. 214.
[2] Cf. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books,* pp. 50–51.
[3] *Supra,* p. 224.
[4] *Œuvres,* ed. cit., i. 50.

As You Like It contains one reference to Gargantua, thought of, perhaps, simply as a giant. Rosalind says to Celia in the second act, third scene, "You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first; 'tis a word too great for any mouth of this age's size." Of course there would be no need for Shakespeare to go to French sources for a bit of "gracious fooling" like the conversation of Sir Andrew and the clown in *Twelfth Night*, treating "of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians passing the equinoctial of Quebus."[2] Yet he might have found an admirable suggestion in the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Rabelais, where Baisecul says, "Mais à propous, passoit entre les deux Tropicques six blancs vers le zenith & maille, par aultant que les Monts Rhiphees avoient eu celle année grand sterilité de happelourdes. . . ."[1]

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[1] Act iv, sc. 2, and act v, sc. 1. These resemblances are mentioned by A. F. Bourgeois, in *Rev. des Études rab.*, iii. 80–81.

[2] Act ii, sc. 3.

One of Hotspur's retorts to Glendower, in the third act, first scene, of *Henry IV.*, first part, is paralleled in Rabelais, but the jest must certainly have been a common one. To Glendower's "I can call spirits from the vasty deep," Hotspur replies: —

> "Why so can I, and so can any one:
> But will they come when you do call for them?"

The corresponding passage in Rabelais reads: "ils invoquent les Diables. . . . Vray est que ces Diables ne viennent tousjours à souhait sus l'instant."[2]

In the first scene of *Othello*, Iago says to Brabantio: "I am one, sir, that comes to tell you your daughter and the Moor are now making the beast with two backs." This expression, apparently so unusual in Elizabethan literature,[3] was somewhat of a favorite with Rabelais, although it was by no means original with him.[4] His best-known employment of it is in the third chapter of the First Book: "Et faisoient tous deux souvent ensemble la beste a deux dos joyeusement." The parallel here seems to be one of the safest indications of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Rabelais.

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[1] Noted by W. F. Smith in *Rev. des Études rab.*, i. 220.

[2] *Œuvres*, bk. v, chap. 10. Noted by W. F. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[3] Cf. a model letter in Thos. Blount's *Academy of Compliments*, 1654.

[4] W. F. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 218, notes its occurrence in *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, no. 20; in Coquillot, *Monologues des Perruques* (Elzévir ed., ii. 277; in *Les anciennes poésies françaises* (Elzévir ed., i. 77, and ii. 138); in the *Sermon joyeux des foux;* and in *l'Ancien theâtre français* (Elzévir ed., ii. 221). He traces it originally to Plato, Symposium, 190*A*.

The thirtieth chapter of Rabelais's Second Book gives the detailed account of the various absurd punishments of heroes in Purgatory, as told by Epistemon when he was restored to life. All this is developed from the suggestion in Lucian's dialogue *Menippos*, which is translated as follows:[1]—

> "I thinke it would move you to laugh much, if you saw those that were Kings and Princes amongst us, beg their bread there, sell salt fish, and teach the A B C for sustenance, and how they are scorned and boxed about the eares as the basest slaves in the world. It was my fortune to have a sight of Philip, King of Macedon, and I thought I should have burst my heart with laughing: hee was shewed mee sitting in a little corner, cobbling old shoes to get somewhat towards his living: many other were to be seene there also, begging by the high waies side, such as Xerxes, Darius, and Polycrates."

When Edgar as Poor Tom in the third act of *King Lear*, sixth scene, declares: "Frataretto calls me and tells me Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness," Shakespeare may possibly have had in mind one of Rabelais's numerous variations on Lucian's theme: "Trajan étoit pescheur de grenoilles, . . . Néron estoit vielleux."[2] Webster, in the fifth act, sixth scene, of *The White Devil,* recognizes Lucian as the source of the general conception, but develops his details in a thoroughly Rabelaisian manner, when he makes Flamineo say: "Whither shall I go now? O Lucian, thy ridiculous purgatory! To find Alexander the Great cobbling shoes, Pompey tagging points, and Julius Cæsar making hair-buttons, Hannibal selling blacking and Augustus selling garlic, Charlemagne selling lists by the dozen, and King Pepin crying apples in a cart drawn with one horse."

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[1] Tr. Francis Hickes, Oxford, 1634, p. 40.

[2] These connections are suggested by Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 81. He certainly goes too far, however, in

It is only natural that Panurge's celebrated eulogy of debt, in the third chapter of Rabelais's Third Book, should appeal to parallel hunters. Resemblances have been noted between the description of planetary disturbances there, and the figure used by Ulysses of an army without a supreme commander, in the first act, third scene, of *Troilus and Cressida.*[1] The remarks of Carlo Buffone in the first scene of *Every Man out of his Humour,* beginning, "Debt? Why, that's the more for your credit, sir," may also, with considerable plausibility, be referred to this chapter in Rabelais.[2] One sentence at least of the chapter — "Tesmoings

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making the same chapter of Rabelais the source of Falstaff's "Ere I lead this life long, I'll sew netherstocks and mend them and foot them too" (*Henry IV.*, ii. 4).

[1] W. König, "Über die Entlehnungen Shaksperes inbes. aus Rabelais und einigen italien. Dramatikern," in *Shak. Jahrbuch,* ix. (1874), 202 *sq.* This seems to be the most reasonable of König's parallels.

[2] Noted by W. F. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

les usuriers de Landerousse, qui n'a gueres se pendirent, voyans les bleds et vins ravaller en pris, et bon temps retourner" — expresses practically the same thing as Shakespeare's "Here's a farmer that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty," in the second act, third scene, of *Macbeth.*

That the theater-going public, as early as 1599, had come to accept other Rabelaisian characters besides Gargantua as conventional types, and to understand stage references to them, is shown by Jonson's *The Case is Altered,* which was certainly in existence by that year. Juniper says, in the fourth scene of the fourth act, "What's the old Panurgo gone, departed, cosmographied, ha?" — in a context where the name "Panurgo" is used plainly as a mere term for rascal.

The name "Pantagruel" is used without particular significance in Barnabe Barnes's *The Divils Charter,* 1606–1607. Indeed, to judge by the context, the principal excuse for its employment was its mouth-filling quality, and yet the word was familiar enough to tempt the author to a pun. Baglioni exclaims, in the fourth act, fourth scene: —

> "what Mandragon or salvage Ascapart,
> What Pantaconger or Pantagruell
> Art thou that fightest with thy fathers soule . . ."

A number of references to Gargantua are now to be mentioned, all conceiving of him, of course, as the giant, with a huge capacity for food and drink. All but one of these [1] may very probably refer to Rabelais's hero. In *Every Man in his Humour*, the second scene of the second act, Downright says to Bobadil: "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbril slop of yours with somewhat an I have good luck; your Gargantua breech cannot carry it away so." From John Cook's *Green's Tu Quoque* comes the remark: "Here's a bit indeed! What's this to a Gargantuan stomach?" In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the fourth scene of the third act, the valiant Ralph shouts, "St. George for me!" and from the barber comes the answering cry, "Gargantua for me!" — in this case no doubt a tribute to the chap-book hero. "Thou shalt be fought with," says Hodge to Hans in the second act of *Shoemaker's Holiday*, "wert thou bigger than a giant." "Yea," adds Firk, "and drunk with, wert thou Gargantua." In this same play there is a possibility of referring the controversy of Roger and Colonel Lacy on the right to enlist a recently-married man, to the sixth chapter of the Fourth Book of Rabelais, — "Why the Newly-Married were exempt from Going to War." [2]

On the strength of these parallels it is impossible to establish any very thorough knowledge of Rabelais among the dramatists of this period, and consequently any important influences. Accumulation of instances strengthens the conviction that by this time Gargantua, however conventualized, was thought of as Rabelais's giant. Both Rabelais and his great characters were taking clearer outlines in men's minds, though it is hard to say how far this was due to first-hand acquaintance. A later group of references will show that this knowledge of Rabelais among the dramatists did not die out as years passed. It seems rather to have been revived under the direct French influences after 1625, as a spirit of cynical gayety and burlesque appeared among the higher circles of society. In either period, however, the impulse imparted to the dramatists from Rabelais must have been chiefly in the direction of a coarse and jovial realism, the Falstaff sort of thing somewhat broadened; and yet it is a question if the dramatists had to seek far to find such impulses direct from their fellow-men. It would at least have seemed worth while to them to find in Rabelais a confirmation of the value of this material for literary purposes.

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[1] I.e. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.*

[2] Cf. Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

Francis Bacon probably had, like most of the Elizabethans, a strain in his character which was thoroughly congenial to the manner of Rabelais's jesting. This is the Bacon of the "apophthegms." In one of these, he relates of "the great jester of France" the apocryphal anecdote which makes him say on his deathbed, "(I am) even going my journey, they have greased my boots already."[1] Another apophthegm[2] repeats in much condensed form the forty-first chapter of Rabelais's Third Book, concerning Judge Bridoye. The catalogue of the Library of Sainct-Victor[1] seems to have made a deep impression on Bacon. In his *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, he mentions at the beginning of the sixth book[2] the entry of a volume entitled "Formicarium Artium" in this same catalogue; and in his essay, "Of Unity in Religion,"[3] he says: "There is a Master of Scoffing that in his Catalogue of Books of a faigned Library sets downe this Title of a Booke, The Morris Daunce of Heretickes." At the beginning of the *Advancement of Learning*[4] appears the comparison of Socrates to the "Silenes" or apothecaries' boxes, with their grotesque exterior and precious contents. This figure originated in Plato's *Symposium*,[5] and was used after him by both Erasmus[6] and Rabelais, the latter making it a prominent feature of the prologue of his First Book. Bacon, of course, knew it in the original form, and may have drawn it directly from there, except for the fact that his phraseology, unlike Plato's, is almost exactly that of Rabelais. These few references are sufficient to establish Bacon's acquaintance with Rabelais, whose doctrines of life, despite their grotesque exterior, doubtless revealed to the English thinker the real value of their content, and served their purpose in the development of Bacon's philosophy.[1] Their influence in this case was of thought rather than of style.

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[1] Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, Boston, 1860, xiii. 338.

[2] *Wks.*, ed. cit., xiii. 394.

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[1] *Œuvres*, bk. ii, chap. 7.

[2] Ed. cit., ii. 409.

[3] *Ibid.*, xii. 87.

[4] *Ibid.*, vi. 115. This, like all the other parallels of Bacon and Rabelais, is noted by W. F. Smith, *op. cit.*

[5] 215*A sq.*

[6] *Adagia*, iii. i. "Sileni Alcibiadis."

A reference to Rabelais in Joseph Hall's *Vergidemiarum* (1597) has already been mentioned.[2] In 1605 there was first published a Latin tract by the same author, which is generally supposed to have been written soon after the *Vergidemiarum*.[3] This tract, entitled *Mundus Alter et Idem*, is satirical in purpose, and descriptive of another no-man's-land, in the Terra Australis. The region in question is divided into four parts: Crapulia, the land of inebriate excess; Viraginia, the land of the Viragoes; Moronia, the country of fools; and Lavernia, the land of thieves and cheats. There is no particular resemblance in plan or style to Rabelais, but there is a blunt freedom of expression throughout, and there are a number of ideas woven into the first part especially, that indicate Hall's thorough familiarity with "wicked Rablais dronken revellings," at the time he composed this satire.

Crapulia is divided into two districts,—Pamphagonia, the province of gluttony, and Yvronia, the province of drunkenness. In the description of these regions, the kind of detail which Rabelais introduces to express the joy of living is constantly employed by Hall with didactic purpose. As one reads the account, several of the lands visited by Pantagruel on his journey suggest themselves, especially l'Isle Farouche and the land of Messere Gaster. Ucalegon, the free city of Pamphagonia, is situated on a rocky height, very difficult of access,[1] as is Gaster's country in Rabelais.[2] The Pamphagonians go to war armed with spits, two-pronged forks, and huge ribs of beef,[3] — an equipment that at once suggests Friar John's attack upon the Andouilles.[4] The epitaph of the Grand Duke Omasius is in the spirit that concludes Rabelais's prologues: "NEMO ME NOMINET FAMELICUS, PRÆTEREAT JEJUNUS, SALUTET SOBRIUS: HÆRES MIHI ESTO QUI POTEST, SUBDITUS QUI VULT, QUI AUDET HOSTIS. VIVITE VENTRES ET VALETE."[5] The prologue of the Fourth Book of Rabelais closes with the words: "Or en bonne santé toussez ung bon coup, beuvez en trois, secouez dehait vos oreilles, & vous oirez dire merveilles du noble & bon Pantagruel." Many other parallels might be suggested in the two works, such as the significance in all proper names used, and the list of words given by Hall from the Moronian vocabulary.[6]

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[1] H. Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, p. 43, calls attention to the idea that Rabelais, finding in the revival of the classics an inspiration to all future greatness, was a forerunner of Bacon, with his thought of antiquity as the youth of the world, the present as its maturity.

[2] *Supra*, p. 226. [3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s. v. "Joseph Hall."

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[1] Hall, *Works*, ed. Wynter, Oxford, 1863, x. 425.
[2] Rabelais, *Œuvres*, bk. iv, chap. 57.
[3] Hall, *Wks.*, ed. cit, x. 424.
[4] Rabelais, *Œuvres*, bk. iv, chap. 41.
[5] Hall, *Wks.*, x. 429.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 461–462.

There is no English poetry of the period that shows more resemblances to the work of Rabelais than do the heterogeneous compositions of John Taylor, the Water Poet. The difficulty lies in establishing the connection. The existence of an early translation of anything from Rabelais except the *Prognostication* has not yet been established, however probable it is; and, to supplement this, there is the emphatic declaration of Taylor himself, several times repeated, that he knew no French. In the introduction to his "Flagellum Superbiæ," after condemning the practice of those poets who borrow the best things from foreign languages, he says: —

> "Unto such robbery I could never reach
> Because I understand no forreigne speach.
> To proove that I am from such filching free,
> Latin and French are heathen-Greeke to me."[1]

In his "Description of a Poet and Poesie," he speaks of himself as one —

> "whose Artlesse studies are but weake,
> Who never could, nor will but English speake."[2]

However correct these statements may be, the numerous parallels in the two authors deserve consideration.

Taylor is in the full sense an occasional writer, anticipating in many ways the demands and standards of modern journalism. He wrote everything, from a *Urania*, with its attendant religious poems, to the accounts of his own peculiar voyages, made that they might be described. He had an easy, fluent style, kept his finger on the literary pulse of the day, and was always ready with the thing in fashion, drifting naturally into parody and burlesque satire on various occasions.

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[1] Taylor, *Works*, folio of 1630, p. 37. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 386.

Taylor was an open admirer of Nash,[1] and might have found encouragement in him for some of the things that appear Rabelaisian. But he follows Rabelais in a number of places where Nash does not. In the employment of long lists of parallel terms, for instance, he would have found only a few models in Nash's work. But under some other influence or influences he extends such lists beyond all the bounds of reason, thus paralleling, at any rate, one of the characteristic vagaries of Rabelais. In "The Travels of a Twelve-pence" there is a list of trades extending through more than sixty lines;[2] besides a shorter series of participial nouns, of which the following is an example: —

> "Such shoving, sholdring, thrusting, thronging, setting,
> Such striving, crowding, justling, and such betting,
> Such storming, fretting, fuming, chafing, sweating, . . ."[3]

In "A Navy of Land-Ships," a list of diseases of horses requires nearly half a page;[4] and a long list of birds is given in Taylor's "Goose."[1] The former of these two works, indeed, is built entirely on a whimsical variation of this list method. The "ships" in his didactic navy are simply abstract terms having that word as a final syllable, as "lord-ship," "scholler-ship," "lady-ship." The navy is victualled, according to Taylor, with a supply of various kinds of "ling," such as "change-ling," "dar-ling," "shave-ling," and others. This usage closely corresponds to a method of Rabelais, in which the same noun is repeated or understood with each one of a long list of adjectives.[2] In Taylor's "Praise of Hempseed," there are lists of writers and of rivers,[3] but these are more in the compass of the medieval catalogue method. A list of diseases appears in Taylor's "Travels,"[4] of the post-stations of France and Spain, in "Prince Charles his Welcome from Spain,"[5] and of needlework and stitches, in "The Praise of the Needle."[6]

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[1] Cf. reference to Nash in "Praise of Hempseed," folio, p. 62; and "Crop-Eare Curried or Tom Nash's Ghost," *Tracts*, ed. Spenser Society, vol. ii.

[2] Folio, pp. 80–81.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 83. Here again, as in Nash, is a reminder of Skelton.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

It is in his dedications especially that Taylor gives himself up to a peculiarly Rabelaisian style of rambling whimsicality, with extravagant phraseology, mock erudition, word-play, and alliteration. Taylor's "Goose," for example, is dedicated —

> "To the Mightie Monarch of Montzago, the Modell of Magnanimity, the map of man-darring Monster-

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[1] Folio, p. 116.
[2] Cf. Rabelais, *Œuvres*, bk. iii, chap. 27.
[3] Folio, pp. 556 and 558.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 569. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 588. [6] *Tracts*, vol. i.

quellers, the thrice three times treble triple renouned Alphebo, ornamented honorable Knight of Standsalio . . .; The unconquer'd all conquering Mayden Knight, by revelation, by creation, procreation, and contentation; the unmatched Phœnix, and fourefold Commander of the Inchanted Ilands, by nomination, by Banner, by warlike atchievements, by relativity, by descent and processe, matchlesse and unparalleled Sir Thomas Parsons, Knight of the Sunne, great cousin Vermin to the seldome seene Queene of Fayries, and hopefull heire apparant to her invisible Kingdome."[1]

There is also a distinct suggestion of Rabelais in a sentence some few lines later: "Thirdly, the Cookes in squadrons, armed with Drippingpannes and spits, instead of speares, before they will lose their Fees (and the licking of their fingers to boote) will fight hotly for the Goose till all smoke again." Here is again recalled the picture of Friar John's strategic attack on the Andouilles.[2]

In similar vein to the one quoted above are the dedication of "The Praise of Cleane Linnen" to the laundress of the Inns of Court,[3] and that of Taylor's "Travels" to the special butt of his ridicule, Thomas Coryat.[4] The former introduces mock erudition, quoting solemnly — from the treatise of Dragmatus, the Diagotian Stigmatist, on the Antiquity of Shapparoones and careless Bands — these words: "Rushtoy ton tumeron smolensco whish wherlibumque." The epilogue of "Cleane Linnen," — "Why this merry Poeme was written" — is largely made up of coarse word-play, in the manner of Rabelais. Coryat, in the dedication of the "Travels," is addressed as "the Cosmographicall, Geographicall describer, Geometricall measurer; Historiographicall Calligraphicall Relater and Writer; Enigmaticall Ingrosser, Surveyor and Eloquent Brittish Græcian Latinist or Latine Græcian orator, the Odcumbian Deambulator, Ambler, Trotter, or untyred Traveller, Sir Tho: Coriat." In this, too, a learned quotation is invented. Also worthy of note is the fact that the "Travels" themselves are the observations of "Three Weeks, Three Days, and Three Hours," a kind of concreteness in detail that Taylor would have found either in Rabelais's acknowledged work, or indeed in *Les Grands Chroniques*.

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[1] Folio, p. 112.

[2] Rabelais, *Œuvres,* ed. cit., bk. iv, chap. 41. See p. 247, *supra.*

[3] Folio, p. 326.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 560.

This extravagant style of dedication, carried somewhat farther, passes into the absolute absurdity found in "Sir Gregory Nonsence His News from No Place."[1] The dedication of this to Mr. Trim Tram Senceless still shows the general form of those quoted above, though the address "To Nobody," and the "Newes" proper that follow, are mere collections of grotesque contradictions. Rabelais parallels this sort of thing in the poem "Les Fanfreluches Antidotees" in the second chapter of the First Book. Taylor addresses "Mr. Senceless" as "honorificicabilitudinitatibus," substantiating his own ignorance of Latin by making this ending, used correctly by Nash, serve for a case of direct address. Significant too is the list of "Authors mentioned," which is built up much in the manner of the Library of Sainct-Victor. The list begins with "Amadis de Gaul, Archy Arms, Bevis of Hampton, Boe to a Goose"; while a section extracted farther down reads: "Knight of the Sunne, Knave of Diamonds, Lanum, Long Meg, Mad Mawlin, Nobody."

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[1] Folio, p. 159 *sq.*

Taylor shows at times an unusual interest in the delights of eating and drinking. "Jack-a-Lent"[1] considers its subject almost entirely from the point of view of the appetite. The personification of Shrove Tuesday here recalls the similar personification of Quaresmeprenant in the Fourth Book of Rabelais,[2] though the two are considered in different attitudes. The chief interest of "The Great Eater of Kent"[3] is obvious in the title. There is a real pleasure evident in the details of the hero's exploits. Incidentally, there is a long rambling introduction, much in Rabelais's manner, recounting the different things by which men have become distinctive or famous. "The Praise of Ale,"[4] a later product, is in two parts, — a prose address opening with a mock-learned discussion of the antiquity of ale, and a lighter, gayer poem, celebrating its benefits.

There are numerous mentions of Gargantua in Taylor's works; not one of them, however, carrying any particular suggestion of an association with Rabelais. In the "Goose" are the lines: —

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 123 *sq.*

[2] Chaps. 29–32.

[3] Folio, p. 152 *sq.*

[4] *Tracts*, vol. ii.

"At Hunnibourne, a Towne in Warwickeshire,
What Gogmagog Gargantua Geese are there . . ."[1]

From "Sir Gregory Nonsence's Newes:" —

"And that three salt Ennigmates well applied,
With fourescoure Pipers and Arions Harpe,
Might catch Gargantua through an augor hole."[2]

In both these places the word Gargantua is merely synonymous with giant. Gargantua also appears among the "Authors mentioned" in connection with "Sir Gregory's Newes." In the argument to "Captain O'Toole," he is mentioned in a list of great romance heroes, as one having almost no habitation,[3] while in the poem proper he is used as a standard by which to estimate the Captain's valor.

"Upon the maine land and the raging Ocean,
Thy courage hath attain'd thee high promotion:
Thou never fear'dst to combate with Garganto."[4]

In a nonsense sonnet directed at Coryat, Taylor says: —

"Conglomerating Aiax, in a fogge
Constulted with Ixion for a tripe,
At which Gargantua took an Irish bogge,
And with the same gave Sisiphus a stripe."[5]

In another place, taunting Coryat about his work, Taylor uses the expression: —

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[1] Folio, p. 120. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 162. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 176.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 177. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

"And at my back returne to write a volume,
In memory of my wits Gargantua colume."

Taylor's *Laugh and Be Fat* is a clever burlesque on Coryat's *Odcumbian Banquet.* Among other things parodied are the orations which Coryat represented himself as having delivered in foreign countries. Here Taylor takes a position closely analogous to that of Nash with Harvey or of Rabelais with the Limousin or with Master Janotus de Bragmardo.[1] The language attributed to Coryat is extravagant in the extreme, and absolutely meaningless, such as: "Contaminous, pestiferous, preposterous, stygmaticall, slavonians, slubberdegullions; since not the externall unvalued trappings, caparisons or accoutrements. . . ."[2]

There are still two parallels of marked significance, but too much extended for quotation. One deals with Taylor's apparently serious discussion of the value and necessity of "hanging,"[3] as compared with Panurge's similar arguments on the necessity of "debt."[4] In the development of their thought, Taylor and Rabelais treat "hanging" and "debt" as if they were synonymous terms, each being equivalent to the more general word "dependence." What each man does is to present the necessity of interdependent relations in the scheme of things; and this idea is supported by each with practically the same series of illustrations. Each calls attention to the relations of the planets, and then turns to the similar situation in the microcosm — the body of man. Each notes the dependence of man upon man in the social system and the similar situation in inanimate life, and so the apparent paradox is completed.

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[1] *Œuvres*, bk. ii, chap. 6, and bk. i, chap. 19.

[2] Folio, p. 238 *sq.* In parodying Coryat's introduction of fragments of foreign language, Taylor introduces an epitaph in the Bermudan and the Utopian tongues, with a translation by "Caleb Quishquash, an Utopian borne" (p. 222). Of course it was by no means necessary to go to Rabelais for this word.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[4] Rabelais, *Œuvres*, bk. iii, chaps. 3 and 4.

Much is said in Rabelais of the virtues of the herb "pantagruelion," which he explains and discusses in detail at the end of the Third Book. The "herb" proves to be flax. Its appearance, growth, and preparation for service are described, and then follows a long account of its various forms of usefulness, beginning, characteristically enough, with the making of hangman's ropes. Special note is made of its value for sails, linen fabrics in their numerous employments, paper, ropes in general, and the like. Taylor, after an apologetic introduction calling attention to the writers who have dealt with light subjects, seriously undertakes a poem in the praise of hemp-seed.[1] He declares emphatically that no one has ever treated of this subject before; although Rabelais had definitely included hemp under pantagruelion, agreeing with Taylor in relating flax to hemp as male to female. Taylor gives little attention to anything but the usefulness of his plant, making its employment for paper the most important, and branching out from this to lists of great writers in various lines. He takes up the value of the plant for linen and for cordage, giving the hangman's rope only a passing mention. The importance of sails he makes much of, perhaps because this gives him an opportunity to introduce a description of a storm at sea, which by his own confession he has had ready for about five years. The parallel throughout is close enough to establish a belief in indebtedness, if one is willing to waive Taylor's explicit declaration that no writer had previously treated the subject.

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[1] Folio, p. 544 *sq.*

In fact, the whole question of Taylor and Rabelais is a puzzle. In addition to parallel expression of certain similar ideas, Taylor has Rabelais's employment of almost interminable lists, his whimsical rambling extravagances, his fondness for the details of good eating and drinking, and a constant tendency to introduce the name of Gargantua. If one could fully establish the fact of an early translation of Rabelais, or might dispute the statements of Taylor regarding his own linguistic accomplishments, the case would be simple enough. The probability of so extensive a chain of mere coincidences is not a strong one, and it is not likely that Taylor's better-equipped literary associates could impart to him all these influences, without some knowledge and mention by him of the author Rabelais. Perhaps a combination of the last two suggestions is enough to cover the situation, but repeated reading of Taylor only serves to strengthen the belief that there is Rabelais there.[1]

Coryat, whose exploits with foot and pen afforded so much amusement to Taylor, was compared by supposedly admiring friends both to Rabelais and to Rabelais's hero Pantagruel. This in itself indicates a fairly general knowledge of the Pantagruel story by 1611, the date when these solicited testimonials were published. Lawrence Whittaker suggests the relation in a prose introduction and emphasizes it in the sonnet that follows: —

> "Sonnet . . . faict en loüange de cet Heroique Geant Odcombien, nomme non Pantagruel, mais Pantagrue, c'est à dire, ny Oye, ny Oison, ains tout Grue, accoustré icy en Hochepot, Hachis, ou Cabirotade, pour tenir son rang en la Librairie de l'Abbaye St. Victor à Paris, entre le livre de Marmoretus de baboinis & cingis, & celuy de Tirepetanus de optimitate triparum; & pour porter le nom de la Cabirotade de Coryat, ou, de l'Apodemistichopezologie de l'Odcombeuili Somerseti (Soti) en, . . ."[2]

The sonnet, itself suggestive of Rabelais, includes these lines: —

> "Tay toy Rabelais, rabbaissé soit l'orgueil
> De tes Endouilles, qui d'un bel accueil

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[1] Richard Braithwaite, whose work has much in common with Taylor's, appears also to have been somewhat influenced by the spirit of Rabelais, particularly in such a piece as Braithwaite's *Solemne Joviall Disputation, Theoreticke* and *Practicke, Briefly Shadowing the Law of Drinking*, 1617.

[2] Coryat, *Crudities*, ed. 1776, i. (*f*).

> Receutont ton Geant en la Farouche,
> A ce Geant d'Odcombe pierre & fouche
> Parla fournit des comptes l'entretint
> Le muguetta, voire & son sens maintint
> En ce travail:"

John Donne, in his commendatory verses, parallels Coryat directly to Rabelais: —

> "It's not that French which made his Gyant see
> Those uncouth Ilands where words frozen bee,
> Till by the thaw next yeare they'r voic't againe;
> Whose Papagauts, Andoûilets, and that traine
> Should be such matter for a Pope to curse
> As he would make; make! makes ten times worse."[1]

In both these comparisons, the fact that Coryat has traveled widely and told vast tales of these travels is the central thought. There is no intimation of any influence upon him from Rabelais, unless it might be the tendency to exaggerate. In fact, the moods of the two men were totally different, although Coryat was familiar enough with the other's work to make reference to it.[2]

Sir Thomas Browne, in *Religio Medici*, 1635, makes definite allusion to the work of Rabelais; being impressed, like Bacon, with the remarkable catalogue of the Library of Sainct-Victor. "There are a bundle of curiosities," he says at one point, "not only in philosophy but in divinity . . . ; pieces only fit to be placed in Pantagruel's library, or bound up with Tartaretus, De Modo Cacandi." [1] Only two pages before, the author had expressed himself thus: "I confess there are in Scripture stories that do exceed the fable of poets, and to a captious reader, sound like Gargantua or Bevis." This remark affords a clear instance of Gargantua in apparent romance associations, when the writer must really have had in mind the work of Rabelais.

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[1] *Ibid.*, i.

[2] The reference, in *Crudities*, ed. cit., i. 41 (57), reads: "Which Codpiece, because it is by that merrie French writer Rabelais stiled the first and principall piece of Armour, the Switzers do weare it as a significant Symbole of the assured service they are to doe to the French King in his Warres . . ."

Somewhat similar complications occur amid the later group of drama references, now to be mentioned. In the first act of Ben Jonson's *The New Inn*, acted 1629, Lovel is explaining how the studies of his master, Lord Beaufort, had been in the classics rather than in romantic material. He declares: —

> "He had no Arthurs, nor no Rosicleers,
> No knights o' the Sun, nor Amadis de Gauls,
> Primalions, Pantagruels, public nothings."

This time the name of the character that was distinctly a creation of Rabelais, has been made to serve for the romance giant. In Ford's *The Lady's Trial*, acted in 1638, Futelli says of Fulgoso, an upstart gallant: —

> "We have resolv'd him
> He is descended from Pantagruel
> Of famous memory by the father's side,
> And by the mother from Dame Fusti-Bunga." [2]

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[1] Ed. D. L. Roberts, London, 1898, p. 33.
[2] Act i, sc. 2.

Near the beginning of William Habington's *Queen of Arragon,* written by 1640, San Martino addresses his page, who is a dwarf, with the words: "Gargantua! boy!" A reference of about equal value is that from *Lady Alimony,* probably written almost as early, in which Timon says of Haxter: "How this Gargantua's spirit begins to thaw."[1]

It has been suggested that some time after 1625 there was a renewed interest in Rabelais in England, corresponding to the taste for satire and raillery gradually imparted to the higher ranks of society by France. The references just noted would of themselves do little to substantiate this. Other evidence is available, however. Thus in 1628 appeared *Quodlibets lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland,* by Robert Hayman. This work included, according to the title-page, "two epistles of that excellently wittie Doctor, Francis Rabelais, translated out of French." More important still is an item in the mock will of James Howell, included in a letter which he dates March 26, 1643. His knowledge of French he bequeaths "to my most honour'd Lady, the Lady Core, and it may help her something to understand Rabelais."[2] That the desire "to understand Rabelais" soon became very general in England, is indicated by the appearance, in 1653, of Thomas Urquhart's translation of the first two books. His version of the Third Book was printed posthumously in 1693; and interest then was still strong enough to justify Pierre Motteux in publishing an English version of the Fourth and Fifth Books a year later.

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[1] Act i, sc. 3.

[2] *Familiar Letters,* ed. Jacobs, London, 1892, ii. 422.

Although this renewed interest in Rabelais was a part of the taste for a literature of polite raillery, his work was admired for its power and condemned for its manner. The matter was summed up, near the close of the century,[1] by Sir William Temple, in his *Essay on Poetry*, where he definitely recognized Rabelais as "father of ridicule": —

> "Rabelais seems to have been father of the ridicule; a man of excellent and universal learning, as well as wit: and, though he had too much game given him for satire in that age, by the customs of courts and of convents, of processes and of wars, of schools and of camps, of romances and legends; yet he must be confessed to have kept up his vein of ridicule, by saying many things so malicious, so smutty, and so profane, that either a prudent, a modest, or a pious man, could not have afforded, though he had never so much of that coin about him: and it were to be wished, that the wits who have followed his vein had not put too much value upon a dress, that better understandings would not wear (at least in public) and upon a compass they gave themselves, which other men would not take."[2]

Thus closes the account of the influence of Rabelais in England to the period of the Restoration. Even since then this influence has cropped out from time to time, adding to the literary equipment of many of the virile, strong-spoken chroniclers of English life, and making the story one of the recognized models for the burlesque and satiric modes in prose. The service of Rabelais to pre-Restoration literature was not a vast one, nor one in its day considered particularly worthy of honor. The author was thought to stand for drunkenness and low revelry; his first great hero came to England with a horde of broken creatures of romance, to be the plaything of a wide-eyed populace. The Rabelais influence almost sneaked its way about London, skulking in the shadows of the playhouse and loitering along the Thames. But with all its vagaries and strange whimsicalities, it loosed the tongue and colored the phrasing of a great Elizabethan controversialist, helped — in all probability — the miscellaneous efforts of an almost accomplished hack-writer, and gave some inspiration, it seems, to the rich expressiveness of the drama. The points in which this influence displayed itself have been noted carefully in passing. In every instance, with the possible exception of Bacon, they have been those of mood and style. There was so much in Rabelais's rich, ringing laughter in the face of the world, that should have appealed to Elizabethan England and have been absorbed there, that a student is tempted to accept every reference — Gargantua and all — as a genuine evidence of a wholesome, deep-rooted admiration for the Frenchman. But even with all necessary restrictions, it is still highly probable that through his own channels, and in the more popular if less fashionable ways, Rabelais made himself distinctly felt in the England of this period.

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[1] The *Essay on Poetry* was first published in 1692.

[2] Sir Wm. Temple, *Works*, ed. London, 1757, iii. 422.

CHAPTER VI

Montaigne

In 1580 and 1582 Montaigne gave the first two books of his *Essais* to the world. Being without plan or system, and having a shifting Pyrrhonistic skepticism that forestalled any charge of inconsistency, they were admirably adapted to the method of desultory expansion by which their author augmented them for the subsequent editions of 1588 and 1595, where they were accompanied by a third book in the same fashion.

In these essays were certain peculiarities which gave them great value for the purposes of other literary men. In the wide scope of material with which they dealt there was suggested for the later writer a fund of thought on almost any subject of interest; and in most instances the borrower might be sure of a designedly unbiased and carefully noncommittal statement in his source. Strangely coupled with the zeal of an innovating skeptic, there was an undisturbed regard for the authoritative sayings of the ancients, a regard which made the books almost a catalogue of classic anecdote and maxim. The style was worthy of emulation in its richness and clearness; the personal element was introduced to a degree unknown before; and so successful an exploitation of the rambling essay as a literary form was enough in itself to call forth imitators.

The *Essais* in their original form were certainly not long in reaching England. Within two decades they were being translated. The first reference to them in the *Stationers' Register* is vague enough. On October 20, 1595, "Edward Aggas entred for his copie under the handes of the Wardenes: The Essais of Michaell Lord Mountene." Presumably, from the language of the title, this was to be an English version; and we may, indeed, have here an early entry of the translation projected by Florio. With equal probability, this may record the intentions of one of the "seven or eight of great wit and worth," whose attempts at the translation of the *Essais* are noted in Florio's "To the Courteous Reader," prefixed to his first edition. The Florio translation is definitely mentioned in an entry of June 4, 1600,[1] and first appeared in 1603. That there were manuscript translations from the *Essais* in circulation prior to 1600, is attested by Sir William Cornwallis, the first part of whose *Essayes*, entered on the same day as Florio's *Montaigne*, was published during that year. He makes no attempt to conceal his obligations to Montaigne, declaring him "for profitable Recreation . . . most excellent," and adding, "whom though I have not bene so much beholding to the French as to see in his Originall, yet divers of his peeces I have seen translated."[1] The apparent excellence of these manuscript versions calls for further comment: "they that understand both languages say very well done, and I am able to say (if you will take the word of ignorance) translated into a stile, admitting as few idle words as our language will endure: It is well fitted in this new garment, and Montaigne speaks now good English; It is done by a fellow less beholding to nature for his fortune then witte, yet lesser for his face then fortune: the truth is he looks more like a good fellow, then a wise man, and yet hee is wise, beyond either his fortune or education." There seems to be no real reason for applying this description to Florio and his work, and regarding it as evidence that this particular version was in manuscript some time before the close of the century;[2] though of course such may well have been the case. At any rate Cornwallis corroborates the view that the vogue of Montaigne translation was well under way and had found able exponents before 1600.

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[1] June 4, 1600, "Edward Blount entred for his copie under the handes of master Hartwell and master man warden: The essaies of Michell Lord of Montaigne translated into English by John Florio."

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[1] Essay 12, "Of Censuring." Cornwallis's *Essayes* also were probably in manuscript circulation for some time before appearing in print, thus throwing the date of the Montaigne translations still earlier.

[2] Cf. Elizabeth R. Hooker, "The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, x. (n.s.) 349–350.

Florio was in position to advance materially the popularity of Montaigne in England. He had previously published various Italian-English exercise books, and a somewhat pretentious Italian-English dictionary, *The World of Words*, which had appeared in 1598. He had served as Italian tutor for several of the nobility, especially for the Earl of Southampton, whom he recognized as his patron in the dedication of the dictionary, and whose friendship and favor had no doubt thrown him into closer acquaintance with a large circle of literary people.[1] Samuel Daniel, for example, attests at the same time his admiration for Montaigne and his regard for Florio, in complimentary verses attached to the first English edition of the *Essays*. Florio's work as a translator scarcely seems today worthy of high commendation. For an original that was clear and limpid and unpretentious, he substituted the awkward, lumbering movement that characterized so much Elizabethan prose, without much of the picturesque vitality that often made it great. He is too often the bombastic pedant rather than the garrulous skeptic. But his translation was the first that found its way into print, and its opportune appearance made it the standard for the English people.

The essay appears to have been an immensely popular literary form just at this time. Bacon's *Essays* — ten of them, at least — appeared in print in 1597, and were republished in 1598.

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[1] *Infra*, p. 281.

Augmented editions were published in 1612 and 1625. Throughout this work there are numerous indications of Montaigne's influence.[1] Besides the edition of Cornwallis's *Essayes* in 1600, already noted, a second part appeared in 1601, and reprints were published in 1609, 1623, 1638, and 1639. The *Stationers' Register* adds further testimony, supplying the names and authorship of some works otherwise entirely unknown.[2] On March 7, 1598, are entered "Diverse sermons and tractes uppon severall textes wrytten by master Greeneham." Twenty-three titles are appended, several of them significant when compared with Montaigne: namely, 1, Of Anger; 6, Of the Education of Children; 9, Of Persevereance; 10, Of the Meditacon of Deathe; 11, Of Justice and Just men; 13, Of Lyinge; 14, Of Foolishness; 15, Of Humilatie and Honour; 18, Of Zeale. Other entries appear as follows:—

Oct. 9, 1601 — Essayes by Master Robert Johnson.

Apr. 19, 1608 — Essayes politique and morall to the right honorable the Lady Anne Harrington.

Oct. 17, 1608 — Aphorismes Civil and militarie amplified with authorities and exemplified with history out of the first Quarterne of Ffraunciss Guichiardini.[3]

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[1] *Infra*, p. 276 *sq.*

[2] This list of Essays is compiled by F. Dieckow, *John Florio's englishe Uebersetzung der Essais Montaigne's und Lord Bacon's, Ben Jonson's und Robert Burton's Verhältniss zu Montaigne*, Strassburg, 1903.

[3] Guicciardini is mentioned as a favorite historian of Montaigne (*Essais*, bk. ii, essay 10), and Cornwallis (essay 45, "Of Essais and Bookes").

Dec. 23, 1614 — An Essay or rather an Encomium for sadnes written by Sir William Cornewallis Knight with his observations upon the life of Julian the Apostate.

June 10, 1616 — Essayes of certaine Paradoxes.

Sept. 13, 1619 — Essaies upon the five sences by Richard Brathwaite.

Mar. 29, 1620 — A discourse against flattery and of Rome with Essaies.

May 31, 1621 — A handfull of Essaies or Imperfect offers by William Mason.

In the absence of complete data, a somewhat detailed consideration of the work of Cornwallis and Bacon appears to be the only available means of estimating how far the influence of Montaigne may have operated in this literary fashion. This involves the supposition that what was true of such permanent and influential products might also be the case, in more mechanical fashion, among the lesser attempts.

Cornwallis, apart from the tribute paid Montaigne in the dedication of his *Essayes*, and the adulatory mention of the French work and its translation in Essay 12, "Of Censuring," has no less than six other direct references to this source of his, scattered through the *Essayes*. Of them all, however, the one already partly quoted offers the most explicit estimate of Montaigne's work, as Cornwallis viewed it through the medium of translation. "But his Authour," he says further of the unknown translator, "speakes nobly, honestly, and wisely, with little method, but with much judgement: Learned hee was, and often showes it, but with such a happinesse, as his owne following is not disgraced by his own reading: He speakes freely, and yet wisely; Censures, and determines many things Iudicially, and yet forces you not to attention with a hem, and a spitting Exordium; In a word he hath made Morrall Philosophy speake couragiously, and in steede of her gowne, given her an Armour; hee hath put Pedanticall Schollerisme out of countenance, and made manifest, that learning mingled with Nobilitie, shines most clearly." In Essay 45, "Of Essaies and Bookes," Cornwallis goes even farther in acknowledging himself a literary disciple of Montaigne as well as of some of the ancients, with the difference naturally arising from his own inferior ability. He says: "I Hold neither Plutarches, nor none of these ancient short manner of writings, nor Montaignes, nor such of this latter time to be rightly tearmed Essayes, for though they be short, yet they are strong, and able to endure the sharpest triall: but mine are Essayes, who am but newly bound Prentise to the Inquisition of Knowledge, and use these papers as a Painters boy a board, that is trying to bring his hand and his fancy acquainted."

The other direct references in the *Essayes*, while they show high regard and familiar acquaintance, modify slavish adulation considerably by independent thinking. Cornwallis expresses agreement with Montaigne in three essays. In Essay 33, "Of Silence and Secrecy," he says: "Montaignia likes not the protesting this, nor I to say so, for I would not have uttered so much, but for the thing it is a safe and an honest principle."

At the close of Essay 35, "Of Traps for Fame," Cornwallis classes himself with Montaigne in the use of personal experience and mention, — another evidence of discipleship.

> "And even for Montania and myselfe (whom in these matters of excuse I may safely ioyne with mee) though wee doe sometimes mention ourselves, yet are we not to be suspected of intrapping Fame: we allow men in their lives to build their Tombes, and wee allow charity to set the first Letters of their names upon the Gownes and Coates they give in almes, shall it not be lawfull then for us to build our Tombes in our Papers? and to weare our names in our labours? Yes surely, it cannot be denied us, they are our children, which if they resemble us, it is not a thing monstrous, but pleasing and naturall."

A minor commendation appears in Essay 46, "The Instruments of a Statesman": "I like nothing better in Montaigne, then his desire of knowing Brutus private actions, wishing more to know what he did in his tent, . . ."

In two instances Cornwallis sets forth his opinion in opposition to that expressed by Montaigne. In Essay 26, "Of Affection," he says: "Yet I go not with Montangnia, who in Essay of cruelty, bribes wit to take part with commiseration so extreamely and so womanish, as not to indure the death of birdes and beasts." Essay 35, "Of Traps for Fame," offers this criticism: "Montania, in his observations upon

Cæsar,[1] deales somewhat too indifferently with his taxers, for this alleadging a proverbe, . . ."

In addition to these references to Montaigne by name, the *Essayes* fairly teem with echoes of the Frenchman's thought. It is true that both men express devotion to the same classic authors, and, being both well read in such material, may easily have drawn from it similar thought and suggestion. It is further true that specific parallels in phrasing are very rare, and that the philosophical point of view of the two men is radically different. Yet, with Cornwallis's enthusiastic confession of admiration before us, there need be no hesitation in attributing much of the parallelism to the immediate influence of Montaigne. There is scarcely an essay that does not suggest him. For example, in Essay 1, "Of Resolution," Cornwallis condemns men's changeable opinions, declares himself affected chiefly by Seneca and Plato,[2] confesses that he talks most of himself, states that he has few friends and holds few worthy of that nearness, advises against dependence on outward luster, and expresses his contempt for death. In Essay 2, "Of Advise," he urges men to accept the advice drawn from experience, commends an education that prepares men for an active life, and enjoins moderation upon all, especially the young. Essay 4, "Of Suspition," notes that the dependents of princes are not to be trusted. Essay 5, "Of Love," exalts the choicest affection of man for man (Montaigne's "friendship") above man's love for woman.

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[1] Cf. Montaigne, bk. ii, essay 34, — "Observations concerning the means to warre after the manner of Julius Cæsar."

[2] Montaigne acknowledges chief indebtedness to Seneca and Plutarch. Plutarch's *Lives* are discussed at length and warmly praised by Cornwallis in Essay 15, "Of the Observation and Use of Things."

Similar reflections of the characteristic thoughts of Montaigne continue throughout the book. Thus Essay 32, "Of Feare," discusses the common effects of fear on the imagination, notes that the acts of other creatures are bound by nature, while those of man are free, parallels Montaigne's famous discussions of death in insisting that the fear is more terrible than the fact, and includes a discussion of oracles and prognostications. Essay 43, "Of Vanitie," makes light of rhetoric for its own sake, condemning overmuch speaking and advising a happy mean between speech and silence; reminds us that naked men are much alike, hence it is wrong to judge a man by his clothes and foolish to try to keep up with the fashions; notes the hypocrisy of good deeds done for glory, and declares that the rewards of fame are lean.

The similarity of illustrations used by the two essayists would be especially striking, except for the fact that these are usually commonplaces, available to any one who cared to use them. Of this type, perhaps, is the story of the man about to be hanged, who feared that the rope would tickle his neck.[1]

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[1] Cornwallis, essay 39, "Of Concert"; Montaigne, bk. i, essay 40.

The mental attitude of the two essayists is essentially different. Even in the discussions of more practical matters, Cornwallis takes positive opinions and usually presents but one side of the question. In the higher considerations of philosophy he is still less a Pyrrhonist, appearing often as the ardent champion of what seems to him the better view. Thus, in Essay 26, "Of Affection," and Essay 36, "Of Knowledge," discussing the relation of reason and affection, — a subject treated at length in Montaigne's "Apology for Raymond Sebond," — Cornwallis writes as the confirmed Platonist, and disposes of all skepticism from that point of view. Another distinction in views is often manifest. The Puritanical bent of his day often operates in Cornwallis to set up a greater seriousness and stricter moral standard in his treatment. Thus in Essay 45, "Of Essaies and Bookes," he goes farther than Montaigne in condemning the fictions of poetry, and estimates various pieces of literature almost solely for the lessons they teach. In the discussions of Reason and Affection already mentioned, he exalts man much more than Montaigne does; and in Essay 43, "Of Vanitie," he vigorously opposes suicide as a cowardly thing.

With all his independence of attitude, however, and despite the fact that he developed many ideas entirely without suggestion from Montaigne, Cornwallis bears every indication of having depended much on the fragmentary translations that he praises. Titles, it is true, are not often significant in this type of literature, but the following list from Cornwallis may add a trifle in substantiating his vital relation to Montaigne: 6, Of Friendship and Factions; 8, Of Praise and Glorie; 18, Of Sleepe; 32, Of Feare; 41, Of Sorrow; 42, Of Solitarinesse and Company; 43, Of Vanitie; 44, Of Vaine Glory; 45, Of Essaies and Bookes; 47, Of Words; 49, Of Flattery, Dissimulation, and Lying. All these subjects had been utilized by Montaigne.

For the indebtedness of Bacon's *Essays* to Montaigne the case is not quite so clear. There was so much difference in the personality of the two men, so diverse an aim and style in their development of the same literary form, that such influences as do appear are not likely to be very patent. Both men, indeed, represented the breakdown of scholasticism.[1] But in one the result was an introspective sort of doubt; in the other arose a new system of dogmatism in practical affairs. Montaigne looks deep and only wonders; Bacon keeps his eye on the surface and advises. Montaigne uses the essay as an ever shifting, ever growing medium for the expression of his vagrant skepticism; Bacon treats it as a refined and polished commonplace book, full of pithy phrasing of practical advice. Under such circumstances, influence must be sought chiefly in similarity of views, with such similarity of phrasing as the difference in manner permits. One must always remember, of course, that both men were well read in the wisdom of the ancients and might at any time draw from a common source.

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[1] Cf. the discussion and comparison of these two men in F. Dieckow, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–80; and in an article, "Montaigne und Bacon," in *Archiv für das Stud. der neueren Sprachen und Litt.*, xxxi. (1862).

There is but one place in Bacon's *Essays* where Montaigne is mentioned by name, — the first essay, on "Truth." Here he is quoted as saying, "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man."[1] In the same essay, however, there occurs a reference which seems most probably to have pointed at Montaigne. Bacon has been speaking of certain of the ancient philosophers, who, as he puts it, delighted in "giddiness and unfixed belief." Then he adds, "And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients."[2] A few minor parallels have been suggested between this first essay of Bacon's and certain statements in Montaigne, but they are without significance.

In Bacon's eighth essay, "Of Marriage and

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[1] Bacon's *Essays*, ed. Reynolds, p. 8. The quotation is derived from Montaigne, bk. ii, essay 18. These, and other parallels from Bacon are cited by Dieckow, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–80.

[2] *Essays*, ed. cit., p. 5.

Single Life," there is possibly another thrust, mildly satirical in spirit, at Montaigne and his doctrine. "The most ordinary cause of a single life," says Bacon, "is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles."[1] Bacon may well have had in mind Montaigne's statement concerning marriage in the fifth essay of the Third Book. The passage is rendered by Florio: —

> "It[2] is now a dayes found most fit or commodious for simple mindes and popular spirits whom dainties, curiosity, and idlenes do not so much trouble. Licentious humours, debaushed conceits (as are mine) who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or observances are not so fit, so proper, and so suitable for it.
> "*Et mihi dulce magis resoluto vivere collo.*
> "Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to live free."[3]

In approaching the vaguer consideration of thought-resemblance, it is worth while to list the more striking similarities in titles. They are as follows: —

BACON	MONTAIGNE
27, Of Friendship 48, Of Followers and Friends.	I–27, De l'Amitié.
39, Of Custome and Education.	I–22, De la coustume et de ne changer aisément une loy receue. I–49, Des coustumes anciennes.

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[1] Ed. cit., p. 52.

[2] Marriage.

[3] Florio's *Montaigne*, Tudor Trans., iii. 75

BACON	MONTAIGNE
42, Of Youth and Age.	I–57, De l’aage.
52, Of Ceremonies and Respects.	I–13, Ceremonie de l’entreveue des Rois.
7, Of Parents and Children.	II–37, De la ressemblance des enfans aux pères. II–8, De l’affection des Pères aux enfants.
1, Of Truth.	I–9, Des menteurs. II–18, Du desmentir.
54, Of Vain Glory.	III–9, De la vanité.
58, Of Vicissitude of Things.	II–1, De l’inconstance de nos actions.

The list of passages where Bacon parallels the thought of Montaigne, and uses decidedly similar phraseology, is a very large one. Most important among them are those in which a train of thought, pursued by Bacon in some one essay, may be traced back, point by point, to various parts of Montaigne’s work. Excellent examples of this are found in Bacon’s treatment of the fear of death in Essay 2, “Of Death”; and in his discussion of the mastery of habit, in Essay 39, “Of Custom and Education.”[1] Other instances of parallel thought with reasonably close parallel in language occur in discussion of points like these: 1, The goodness we have made a habit as compared with that which is natural in us; 2, Whatever is somewhere won is somewhere lost; 3, Civil war is the heat of fever; foreign war, the heat of healthful exercise; 4, The imposture of prophecies. If similarity of expression should not be insisted upon, a host of similar ideas might be collected from the two authors, some of them from among their favorite contentions. For example: Be liberal to children lest you force them into crime; State advancement removes a man from personal freedom; Travel early and learn foreign languages; Kings have little food for ambition, but much for fear; It is spirit rather than numbers that counts in an army. That the two men often use the same citations from the ancients, or illustrate with similar examples, is much less significant. The conclusion of it all would be that Bacon knew the work of Montaigne, found it a fruitful source for ideas, and followed the views it expresses only so far as the innate differences of the two men permitted.

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[1] See parallels in appendix C.

In his connection with Shakespeare, Montaigne has become the prey of the confirmed source-hunters who are always enrolled in the service of that poet. So ardent has been the search for parallels, as to call forth what seems to be a clever literary forgery. In the British Museum is preserved a volume of the 1603 edition of Florio's *Montaigne*, containing what has often been pronounced a genuine autograph of William Shakespeare, together with certain references which correspond to Shakespearean passages.[1] Modern scholarship, however, refuses to take this seriously, and no inferences can be drawn from it. The identification of

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s. v. "John Florio."

Hamlet with Montaigne, whether as a plain attack on the Frenchman's skepticism,[1] or as a criticism of him because he "preached the rights of nature whilst yet clinging to dogmatic tenets,"[2] has given occupation to several theorists; while others go farther and hold Shakespeare indebted to Montaigne for practically all the excellence of the dramas. Lately, a more reasonable attitude has been taken, sifting the data gathered by these enthusiasts and giving it a fair interpretation.[3] For the present study it remains only to draw from the material offered the most striking evidences of indebtedness, and the general lines of probability attending them.

The externals are soon disposed of. Shakespeare, like Florio, enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Southampton, having dedicated to him both the *Venus and Adonis*, in 1593, and the *Lucrece*, in 1594. Florio entered Southampton's employ as early as 1589, and might in all probability have been on familiar terms with Shakespeare by the end of the century. Thus the first drafts of his translations would fall into the dramatist's hands, or, earlier still, Florio might have directed Shakespeare's notice to other men's attempts at translating Montaigne, — attempts which were inspiring Florio himself to make a similar effort.

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[1] Cf. G. F. Stedefeld, *Hamlet: ein Tendenzdrama Shakespeare's gegen die skeptische und kosmopolitische Weltanschauung des Michel de Montaigne.* Berlin, 1871.

[2] Cf. Jacob Feis, *Shakspere and Montaigne.* London, 1884.

[3] Cf. Elizabeth R. Hooker, *op. cit.*

There is one parallel between Shakespeare and Montaigne of which there is entire certainty, and it is Florio's translation that is followed. The resemblance in question, pointed out within two centuries after its appearance,[1] is between Gonzalo's description of an ideal commonwealth, in the second act of *The Tempest*, and a portion of the essay, "Of the Caniballes." Gonzalo says: —

> "I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
> Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
> Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
> Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
> And use of service, none; contract, succession,
> Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
> No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
> No occupation: all men idle, all;
> And women too, but innocent and pure;
> No sovereignty."

The version of Florio, which Shakespeare has followed faithfully, reads: "It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands; no use of wine, corne, or mettle."[2] Shakespeare, in his "all men idle, all," has obviously followed and misinterpreted Florio's ambiguous rendering, "no occupation but idle," for the original "nulles occupations qu'oysifves."

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[1] Cf. Capell, *Notes and Various Readings*, London, 1781, pt. iv, p. 63.

[2] Florio's *Montaigne*, bk. i, essay 30; Tudor Translations, i. 222.

The works of the two men offer no other parallel so nearly perfect as this. Parallelism of thought is of course frequent, but usually occurs when one of Shakespeare's characters is uttering some of the commonplaces about death and Stoicism, or the mysterious and unsatisfactory nature of life. Only occasionally is there a resemblance of phraseology so striking as to catch one's attention. On these occasional instances and on some groupings of parallels, much of the further argument for indebtedness rests. For instance, in a very few pages of Florio's version of the nineteenth essay of the First Book, "That to Philosophize is to learn how to die," there are at least five passages[1] expressive of Stoicism, which are fairly well paralleled in Shakespeare; one in *Lear*, one in *Hamlet*, and three in *Julius Cæsar*. Two other Stoic passages in this last play, as well as one in *Much Ado About Nothing*, show considerable similarity to other passages in Florio. In the *Hamlet* passage, the parallel from Montaigne goes a long way toward clearing up a doubtful line in the folio: "since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?"[2] The corresponding sentences, as rendered by Florio, read: "Moreover, no man dies before his houre.

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[1] See appendix C.

[2] *Hamlet*, act v, sc. 2.

The time you leave behind was no more yours than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more."

More characteristically Montaigne's are the ideas concerning the unsatisfactory nature of life, assembled in the speech of consolation by the disguised Duke to Claudio in *Measure for Measure.* Every turn of his remarks may be paralleled reasonably well with passages in Florio, though some of the thoughts are far too commonplace to afford valuable evidence. Of the others, eight in number, one shows resemblance to another passage in the nineteenth essay of the First Book, already mentioned; while six find parallels within the limits of one essay, "The Apology for Raymond Sebond,"[1] and the other in the essay immediately following this. In this same "Apology," moreover, appear possible sources for other Shakespearean passages, — one in *Lear,* one the familiar "such stuff as dreams are made on" in the already obligated *Tempest,* and another even the famous soliloquy of Hamlet.[2] Not indeed in the particular passage of Florio noted in the last connection, but only two or three pages before it, there are two sentences which may go far to explain the much talked-of mixed metaphor in the soliloquy: —

> " — take up arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them."

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[1] Bk. ii, essay 12.

[2] These parallels are given in detail in appendix C.

The passage from Montaigne reads: —

> "Yet I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arm my selfe to expell or wrestle against them assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischiefe that upon the neck of the former came rushing upon me."

It is not without reason that so many men have been impressed by the resemblance between Hamlet and Montaigne. The wavering, inconclusive operations of the Dane's mind are strikingly similar to the Pyrrhonistic speculations of the French essayist, and the objects of their consideration are often identical. Both, for instance, concerned themselves with the conflict of the reason and the will, discussing it under similar subdivisions and with notably similar phraseology. A number of good parallels have been cited in this connection, two in praise of reason, one going to the opposite extreme and praising rashness, and a fourth advising against the delay that comes from balancing reasons against each other.[1]

These are only a few most probable specimens from the numerous supposed parallels that have been suggested. In a case like this, accumulation is itself a kind of proof, and the peculiar facility for grouping which these examples show, further heightens their value. Moreover, the plays concerned are in every case those which Shakespeare criticism is now agreed in placing at such times that they might well be influenced by the preliminary manuscripts or final printed version of the translation of Montaigne. At the best, they show us Shakespeare only as the dramatist, always seeking material, and adapting, consciously or unconsciously, from a great storehouse like the *Essais*, views and expressions which seem consistent with his characters. The expressions are revitalized with a new conciseness and poetic quality, but the opinions of the real Shakespeare remain, as usual, in the background.

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[1] See appendix C.

The indebtedness of Jonson to Montaigne is apparently to be sought in the *Timber* rather than in his dramas. In these casual thoughts of his, concerned usually with the life of man on its literary or artistic side, and largely free from all idea of dictation to men, there is much more resemblance to the general manner of Montaigne than the *Essays* of Bacon afford. Jonson confessed himself a devoted admirer of Bacon's style, and was greatly influenced by it. His knowledge and recognition of Montaigne seem no less certain. The British Museum possesses two valuable books in this connection, one a copy of the 1603 edition of Florio's *Montaigne,* containing what is regarded as a genuine signature of Jonson; the other an autograph copy of Jonson's *Volpone,* presented to John Florio, whom he salutes as "the ayde of his Muses." In this same play, *Volpone,* acted in 1605 and printed two years later, there is a striking bit of evidence regarding the tendency then prevailing in England to appropriate the material of Montaigne's *Essais,* as found in Florio. In the third act, second scene, Lady Politick Would-be, speaking of Guarini's *Pastor Fido,* says: —

> "All our English writers,
> I mean such as are happy in the Italian,
> Will deign to steal out of this author, mainly;
> Almost as much as from Montaignié."

The idea Jonson had of Montaigne's relation to other essayists is indicated in a passage of the *Timber, or Discoveries:* [1] —

> "Some that turn over all books, and are equally searching in all papers, that write out of what they presently find or meet, without choice; by which means it happens, that what they have discredited and impugned in one week, they have before or after extolled the same in another. Such are all the essayists, even their master Montaigne."

Jonson's debt to Montaigne is similar to that of Bacon. There was no discipleship, no identity of philosophical position. If he borrowed, it was merely chance suggestions, occasional ideas, with or without an attendant similarity in phrasing. Only a few of the titles of subdivisions in the *Timber* correspond to the elusive essay subjects of Montaigne; for instance: 1, Fortune; 4, Fame; 15, Reputation in Counsel; 38, Difference of Scholar and Pedant; 57, Eloquence; 62, Memory; 74, Knowledge; 84, The Place of Princes. Nearly all the apparent borrowings of thought, attended by similarity of language, are of the type of commonplaces, which an omnivorous reader like Jonson might have picked up from many sources. One of them alone would carry no weight; in the accumulation there is considerable probability. Thus Jonson speaks of the soul, Florio of the mind, as entangling herself in her own works, like the silkworm.[1] Both tell how princes learn one art well; namely, that of horsemanship, because horses are no flatterers and would as soon throw prince as groom. Montaigne gives this on the authority of Carneades. Both tell the same story of the musician's answer to the king, but the chance of indebtedness is lessened, since Jonson names Alexander as the monarch, and Montaigne mentions Philip. They have the same account of men whose eloquence increases with their anger, but again Jonson mentions no names, while Montaigne states what is reported of Severus Cassius. Other parallels worthy of note are those regarding the relation of monarchs to their counsellors, and the easy roads that should be provided to education. Indeed, half a score of commonplaces may be collected,[2] in which

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[1] Jonson, *Works,* ed. Gifford-Cunningham, ix. 158.

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[1] See appendix C for this and other parallels.

[2] Dieckow, *op. cit.*, p. 87 *sq.* notes the following: (1) undue eagerness for results only hinders us; (2) it is wrong to elevate one's self by decrying others; (3) old age is a disease; (4) eloquence of the pulpit differs from that of the bar; (5) the condemnation of lying; (6) men turn to learning only for material gain; (7) riches bring only care and anxiety; (8) do not assume virtue only to be seen of men; (9) distance seems to lend enchantment to the view of men and things; (10) the relation of poetry and philosophy.

Jonson takes a view mentioned by Montaigne; but these were equally accessible to both men in the classics, or, for that matter, from experience.

A year after Jonson's *Volpone*, another dramatist, John Marston, perhaps makes allusion to one of the most striking notions expressed by Montaigne. In the first scene of the fourth act of *Parasitaster* (1606), Zucconi exclaims: "O Heaven! that God made for a man no other means of procreation and maintaining the world peopled but by women! O! that we could increase like roses, by being slipp'd one from another, — or like flies, procreate with blowing, or any other way than by a woman." This attitude of mind is expressed at great length in the fifth essay of Montaigne's Third Book.

To a man of such varied interests and broad culture as Sir Walter Raleigh, Montaigne's *Essais* must have afforded intense delight, especially because of their message of individuality and free thought. Raleigh may well have known these essays in the original; but the translation of Florio, with its attendant wave of popularity, appeared in England almost contemporary with the beginning of his long imprisonment, thus providing, in his enforced idleness, fresh impetus along some of Montaigne's favorite lines of thought. Of this result we can be positive; for Raleigh's little treatise, *The Skeptick*, written sometime during his incarceration, is merely an exposition of

Pyrrhonism along the same lines, with the same illustrations, and almost in the same phraseology as that of Montaigne in his "Apology for Raymond Sebond." Raleigh's explanation of the Skeptick's position is almost identical with the definition of Pyrrhonism given and apparently approved by the essayist. "The Skeptick," says Raleigh, "doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position, but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed or denied, to justify his not consenting."[1] Montaigne had said: "That ignorance, which knoweth, judgeth, and condemneth it selfe, is not an absolute ignorance: For, to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Pyrrhonians is ever to waver, to doubt and to enquire; never to be assured of anything, nor to take any warrant of himself."[2]

In supporting his approval of skepticism, Raleigh makes much of two lines of argument: — one, that sense impressions vary with the individual and are therefore unreliable; the other, that the belief in man's great mental superiority over beasts is unfounded. There are abundant parallels to show that in both of these he is closely following Montaigne.[3] Under the first consideration, both men, in very similar terms, note that objects assume new shades of color in the sight of men variously afflicted; that the shape of eyes affects the apparent shape of objects; that the size and form of the ear-passages affect conceptions of sound. Both call attention to conflicting impressions transmitted by different senses, illustrating this by perspective in paintings and by our impressions of honey and ointment. Summing up, Raleigh says: "These great Differences cannot but cause a divers and contrary Temperament, and Quality in those Creatures; and consequently, a great Diversity in their Fancy and Conceit; so that tho' they apprehend one and the same Object, yet they must do it after a diverse Manner: . . . But this will more plainly appear, if the Instruments of Sense in the Body be observed; for we shall find, that as these Instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it."[1] Montaigne's expression is as follows: "Those Sects which combate mans science, doe principally combate the same by the uncertainety and feeblenesse of our senses: For since by their meane and intermission all knowledge comes unto us, . . . if either they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring unto us, if the light which by them is transported into our soule be obscured in the passage, we have nothing else to hold by."[2]

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[1] Raleigh, *Works*, ed. Birch, 1751, ii. 331.

[2] Florio, *op. cit.*, ii. 207.

[3] See appendix C.

On the second consideration Montaigne has much to say in the "Raymond Sebond" essay. Raleigh's position is introduced thus: "If it be said, that the Imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward Object, than the Imagination of other living Creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said) this is easily refuted by comparing of man with other Creatures."[1] Raleigh then follows Montaigne in quoting from Chrysippus an argument for the dog's logic, parallels Montaigne's statements regarding the dog's change of voice to convey different ideas, draws further suggestion from Montaigne concerning the language of birds, and so elaborates his instances of animal sagacity. There is no trouble about the grouping of these parallels, for both discussions are limited in space.

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[1] Raleigh, *Works*, ed. cit., ii. 332.
[2] Florio, *op. cit.*, ii. 316.

Raleigh's *Instructions to his Son* also show some possible parallels to Montaigne. For instance: "The next and greatest Care ought to be in the Choice of a Wife, and the only Danger therein, is Beauty, by which all Men in all Ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use Reasons or Arguments, to disswade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that Witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other Things, which may be thy Ruin and Destruction."[2] Montaigne had said:[3] "I see no marriages faile sooner, or more troubled, then such as are concluded for beauties sake, and hudled up for amorous desires. There are required more solide foundations, and more constant grounds, and a more warie marching to it: this earnest youthly heate serveth to no purpose." Both agree further in their discussion of drunkenness, taking the position that drinking is dangerous for young men, but may be excusable for old ones, as necessary to augment their declining "natural heat."

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[1] *Works*, ed. cit., ii. 335.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 343.

[3] Florio, *op. cit.*, iii. 72.

An interesting and somewhat complicated line of parallels is afforded by the work of William Drummond of Hawthornden. His sojourn in France from 1606 to 1609, and his extensive reading in the language during those and subsequent years have already been noted.[1] Though his sonnets, written between 1613 and 1616, seem chiefly to have gone direct to Italian models, a certain "Song,"[2] published in the collection of 1616, almost certainly draws a part of its inspiration, at least, from an essay of Montaigne. This is the same essay already considered[3] as having inspired much of the Stoicism of Shakespeare, the nineteenth essay of the First Book, — "That to Philosophize is to learn how to die." Drummond's "Song" deals with the return of a dead mistress, and proceeds according to the established tenets of Platonism, with which it blends easily the expressions of Stoicism. This combination was apparently a pleasing one to Drummond, for in his dignified and beautiful prose treatise, *A Cypress Grove*, appended to his *Flowers of Sion*, published in 1623, the same material is worked over and expanded. The Platonism is retained, but given a decided Christian coloring and wrought into a fervent religious conclusion. The Stoic ideas receive a far greater relative prominence, the additions and expansions being obviously derived from a fresh consideration of the essays of Montaigne. The conception of death, which most of Drummond's treatise is occupied with developing, is a decidedly familiar one to the reader of Montaigne. Speaking of death, Drummond says: "To a mind by Nature only resolved and prepared, it is more terrible in Conceit than in Verity; and at the First Glance, than when well pryed into; and that rather by the Weakness of our Fantasy, than by what is in it; and that the marble Colours of Obsequies, Weeping, and funeral Pomp (which we our selves paint it with) did add much more Ghastliness unto it than otherwise it hath." Montaigne's statement is: "Je crois à la verité que ce sont ces mines et appareils effroyables, dequoy nous l'entournons, qui nous font plus de peur qu'elle: une toute nouvelle forme de vivre; les cris des meres, des femmes et des enfans; la visitation de personnes estonnées et transies; l'assistance d'un nombre de valets pasles et esplorez; une chambre sans jour;

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[1] *Supra*, pp. 7-8.

[2] Drummond, *Works*, folio edition, Edin., 1711, p. 12 *sq*. Drummond's possible dependence on Montaigne is suggested by Jos. Texte, *Études de littérature européenne*, Paris, 1898, p. 53.

[3] *Supra*, p. 283.

des cierges allumez; nostre chevet assiegé de medecins et de prescheurs: somme, tout horreur, et tout effroy autour de nous."

There follows a series of unusually convincing parallels.[1] Millions have preceded us on the highway of mortality, and millions are to follow: this idea passes from Montaigne to *The Cypress Grove* through the medium of the "Song." We must leave room for others as others have for us: this is borrowed directly from Montaigne. Through the "Song" comes the idea that, whatever our will, nature forces us out of life as she forced us into it; as also the thought that we might as well deplore not having lived in the ages past as that we shall not live in the age to come. Both these ideas, as phrased in *The Cypress Grove*, seem to have received a fresh impetus from Montaigne.

Drummond notes the real weakness of man. "When he is in the brightest Meridian of his Glory, there needeth nothing to destroy him, but to let him fall his own Height: a Reflex of the Sun, a blast of Wind, nay, the Glance of an Eye, is sufficient to undo him."[2] These remarks at once suggest Montaigne's list of small but mortal accidents in the twentieth essay of the First Book. The first essay of the Second Book, "De l'Inconstance de nos actions," affords a basis for the next thought. "What Chameleon," says Drummond, "what Euripe, what Rainbow, what Moon doth change so often as Man? He seemeth not the same Person in One and the same Day; what pleaseth him in the Morning is in the Evening unto him distasteful." [1]

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[1] See appendix.

[2] Drummond, *Works*, ed. cit., p. 119.

In the next few pages of *The Cypress Grove*, appears an argument for the worthlessness of those things in which men glory, — greatness, knowledge, cunning, riches, pleasures, and fame. Contempt for all these things is expressed in various places in Montaigne, — for example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth essays of the Second Book, "De la Gloire" and "De la Presumption." On the other hand, this position is thoroughly in line with all Drummond's philosophy, as expressed for instance in the *Flowers of Sion*, and therefore this resemblance may have less significance. In the midst of his reasoning, Drummond takes occasion to picture the sad condition of man if he were not mortal.[2] This bears a close resemblance to a passage in Montaigne's "To Philosophize is to learn how to die"; [3] although Drummond's accompanying arguments as to why death should not be painful seem to find no parallel in Montaigne.

In developing the idea that the fear of death was given us as a preventive of suicide, Drummond seems again to get his suggestion from Montaigne's *Essais*. He adds to it, though, a strangely familiar expression: "if Man, for Relief of Miseries and present Evils, should have unto it Recourse, it being apparently a worse, he should rather constantly endure what he knows, than have Refuge unto that which he feareth, and knoweth not."[1] Whether this is mere coincidence, or Drummond phrased his notion with a recollection of the familiar "soliloquy," is an open question. In any case the Montaigne passage in this connection would have little value as a source for Hamlet's words. A considerable number of really striking parallels follow,[2] some with and some without the intervention of Drummond's "Song." The source in almost every case is the same nineteenth essay of Montaigne's First Book.

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[1] Drummond, *Works*, ed. cit., p. 119.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[3] See appendix.

Toward the end of Drummond's treatise, his religious attitude becomes prominent, to the exclusion of both Stoicism and Platonism. This attitude is seen, for instance, in the discussion of the relations of soul and body, and the part played by each in death and the resurrection: questions merely opened in a noncommittal fashion in Montaigne's "Apology for Raymond Sebond." The "Apology" is likewise noncommittal in stating the questions concerning God's power over the laws of nature, and the ability of man to comprehend it, but there is no hesitation about Drummond's views. Drummond's climax — that man is put on earth as steward of God's possessions here, and is destined for the greater glory of heaven — is not developed by Montaigne at all. The closer the comparison of these two works, however, the more convincing becomes the evidence that Drummond was greatly obligated to Montaigne. The changes he introduced are obvious. He enlarged upon the thoughts and introduced new and connecting ideas, thereby producing a more systematic scheme of thought. He gave to the material a more impressive and poetically beautiful style. Finally, he suppressed the skepticism and substituted a devoutly religious attitude.

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[1] *Works,* ed. cit., p. 121.

[2] See appendix.

As a further instance of the impression made upon Drummond by this whole line of thought, attention must be called to a sonnet of his, first published in 1630, with the second edition of *Flowers of Sion.* It is entitled "Death's Last Will," and the significant lines read: —

> "This, not believed, experience true thee told,
> By danger late when I to thee came near.
> As bugbear then my visage I did show,
> That of my horrors thou right use might'st make,
> And a more sacred path of living take:
> Now still walk armed for my ruthless blow,
> Trust flattering life no more, redeem time past,
> And live each day as if it were thy last."

It is not surprising that Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* should show numerous indications of an acquaintance with Montaigne. The book appeared at a time when the vogue of the French essayist must have become widespread.[1] It was full of digressions, and so pervaded by the academic temperament that it fairly reeked with references to classic "authorities," even as did the advanced skepticism of Montaigne. Between the authors there was much in common, both leading fairly quiet, introspective lives, with a touch of morbidness about them; both given to contemplating man as they found him mirrored in themselves; and both, amid constant protestations of cheerfulness, turning by nature toward melancholy. Both, indeed, profess themselves followers of Democritus.

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[1] The first edition of the "*Anatomy*" appeared in 1621; others in 1624, 1628, 1632, 1651, 1652, 1660, and 1676.

Added to these things is the fact that Burton definitely names Montaigne no less than seven times, always with an air of discipleship. Thus: "To have an oar in every mans boat, to taste of every dish, and sip of every cup, which saith Montaigne, was well performed by Aristotle and his learned countryman Adrian Turnebus."[1] Again, in a footnote, Burton says: "Montaigne, in his Essays, speaks of certain Indians in France, that being asked how they liked the country, wondered how a few rich men could keep so many poor men in subjection, that they did not cut their throats."[2] A marked similarity of phrasing attends a third mention of Montaigne. Burton declares: "If I make nothing, as Montaigne said in like case, I will mar nothing; 'tis not my doctrine but my study. I hope I shall do nobody wrong to speak what I think, and deserve not blame in imparting my mind."[1] Montaigne had said, as rendered by Florio: "Now as Plinie saith, every man is a good discipline unto himselfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my study: And not another mans lesson, but mine owne; Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne, may haply serve another mans; otherwise I marre nothing."[2]

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[1] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. A. R. Shilleto, London, 1893, i. 14. Cf. Florio's *Montaigne*, ed. cit., i. 23; ii. 213; i. 141; ii. 129; ii. 397. The figure opening this quotation is found in Florio, but not in the French original, showing that Burton used this version. This, with the references to follow, is noted by Dieckow, *op. cit.*, p. 96 *sq*.

[2] Burton, ed. cit., i. 406. Cf. Florio, ed. cit., i. 231.

In another place[3] Burton says: "His countryman Montaigne, in his Essays, is of the same opinion, and so are many others; out of whose assertions thus much in brief we may conclude: that beauty is more beholding to Art than Nature, and stronger provocations proceed from outward ornaments, than such as nature hath provided." This is apparently drawn from a discussion in Montaigne's "Apology for Raymond Sebond,"[4] a discussion which is also the basis for another acknowledged borrowing, later in the *Anatomy*,[5] referring to the sight of the nude body as an antidote for extreme passion. In this instance a Latin quotation is repeated, with practically the same English translation as given by Florio. Still farther on[6] Burton says of jealousy: "Some make a question whether this headstrong passion rage more in women than men, as Montaigne. But sure it is more outrageous in women, as all other melancholy is, by reason of the weakness of their sex." Montaigne had said:[1] "After we have knowen, that without comparison they[2] are much more capable and violent in Love-effects than we, as was testified by that ancient Priest, who had beene both man and woman, and tried the passions of both sexes." Finally Burton quotes at length,[3] with acknowledgment, certain of Montaigne's statements regarding Julius Cæsar, Mahomet the Turk, and Ladislaus, king of Naples.

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[1] Burton, ii. 147. [2] Florio, ii. 58. [3] Burton, iii. 100.
[4] Florio, ed. cit., ii. 184–185. Cf. also ii. 343–344.
[5] Burton, iii. 240. [6] *Ibid.*, iii. 305.

In the intricate scheme of the *Anatomy*, Subsection II of Member III of Section II of Part I bears the title, "Of the Force of Imagination." This is the exact title of the twentieth essay of Montaigne's First Book, which Burton, if at all under the influence of Montaigne, might be supposed to have used. That he did so freely is amply indicated by the interesting set of parallels that may be produced.[4] Burton's discussion of suicide[5] brings him again into a territory dear to the Frenchman, and again we may expect parallels. The material this time is drawn from the essay, "A Custome of the Ile of Cea,"[6] and includes among other things the incident of the Lacedæmonian child who leaped from the housetops, Diogenes' taunt to the dropsied Speucippus, the opinion of Seneca, and the case of Vibius Virius. It is of course the association of these last references that makes them significant. The fact is, however, that so often the same illustrations[1] and quotations[2] are used by the two men that one is strongly tempted to override natural suspicion toward such evidence and offer these as added proof of Burton's indebtedness. The frequent resemblance in ideas[3] adds further weight to the contention. On the whole, the case seems an especially strong one for the influence of Montaigne in the *Anatomy of Melancholy.*

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[1] Florio, iii. 77.

[2] *I.e.* women.

[3] Burton, iii. 314. Cf. Florio, ii. 469–470.

[4] See appendix.

[5] Burton, ed. cit., i. 500.

[6] Bk. ii, essay 3.

The tendency to read Montaigne seems to have extended to John Taylor, the Water Poet, although his work shows no such probabilities of indebtedness as it does in relation to Rabelais. At one point in his Folio, published in 1630, Taylor includes Montaigne among the list of histories he has read.[1] In another place [2] he quotes a statement from "Montaigne, a learned and a noble French Writer."

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[1] (1) The Goths save the libraries of Rome, Burton, i. 39, Flor. i. 134; (2) Wives and Concubines, Burton, iii. 339, Flor. i. 230; (3) John Zisca's drum, Burton, i. 38, Flor. i. 25; (4) Niobe, Burton i., 62, 300, 414, Flor. i. 18; (5) Alexander seeing his wounds bleed, Burton, i. 152, Flor. i. 303; (6) The mule and the salt, Burton, ii. 22, Flor. ii. 169. All cited by Dieckow, *op. cit.*, p. 102 *sq.*

[2] Cf. Dieckow, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–110.

[3] *E.g.* (1) One man profits by the losses of others; (2) each day and hour brings its new interests; (3) man's variable judgment; (4) it is foolish to estimate one's self too high; (5) we should relieve congested population by colonies as did the Romans; (6) the cares and anxieties of kings; (7) contempt for the tricks of orators; (8) men are slaves to fashion, — Alexander's followers stooped because he did; (9) madness as an effect of fear; (10) physical value of occasional intoxication. Dieckow, pp. 111–115.

There are certain indications of indebtedness to Montaigne in the writings of Sir Thomas Browne, particularly in the *Religio Medici.*[3] These indications are chiefly of a general rather than a particular nature, however, and are materially lessened in value by Browne's own declaration of independence. In Browne's lifetime, men were already suggesting resemblances between his work and Montaigne's. The first appearance of the *Religio Medici* was in the shape of a pirated edition in 1639; while the first authorized edition was published in 1643. In this edition the annotator, Keck, points out two parallels. One is based on the following statement by Browne: "I could never divide myself from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that from which, perhaps, within a few days, I should dissent myself." [4] Keck compares this with a passage in "The Apology for Raymond Sebond": —

> "Combien diversement jugeons-nous de choses? Combien de fois changeons-nous nos fantasies? Ce

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[1] John Taylor, *Works,* folio of 1630, p. 217.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[3] Browne's indebtedness to Montaigne is suggested in Jos. Texte, *Études de littérature européenne,* p. 61 *sq.*

[4] Sir Thomas Browne, *Works,* ed. Wilkins, London, 1835, ii. 8.

que je tiens aujourd'hui, et ce que je crois, je le tiens et le crois de toute ma croyance, mais n'est-il pas advenu, non une fois, mais cent, mais mille, et tous les jours, d'avoir embrassé quelque autre chose?"

The other parallel noted by Keck is concerned with this passage from Browne: "For, indeed, heresies perish not with their authors; but, like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another."[1] He compares from the same essay of Montaigne: "Nature enserre dans les termes de son progres ordinaire, comme toutes autres choses, aussi les créances, les jugements et opinions des hommes; elles ont leur revolutions."

Browne himself, resenting the implication in these or similar comparisons, took occasion some years later to write down a specific denial of indebtedness to Montaigne's *Essais*. The statements, appearing in Browne's miscellaneous papers, preserved in the British Museum, read thus: —

"Some conceits and expressions are common unto divers authors of different countries and ages; and that not by imitation, but coincidence, and concurrence of imagination, fancy, and invention, upon harmony and production. Divers plants have been thought to be peculiar unto some one country; yet, upon better discovery, the same have been found in distant regions, and under all community of parts. . . . In a piece of mine, published long ago, the learned annotator hath paralleled many passages with others in Montaigne's Essays: whereas, to deal clearly, when

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[1] *Works*, ed. cit., ii. 10.

I penned that piece I had never read these leaves in that author, and scarce any more ever since."[1]

Even in the face of this assertion, there are some interesting general resemblances between Browne's work and Montaigne's which at least deserve mention.[2] First it is important to note that the *Religio Medici*, which is most concerned in this discussion, was probably written in 1635, only two years after Browne had returned from a sojourn in France and Italy. Browne, like Montaigne, presents the combination of advanced skepticism with antiquated methods and time-worn citations. He is as old-fashioned as Burton; as widely read and as credulous. Like Montaigne's, his work is lacking in system, and makes much of the personal element. Browne is another who studies man through the medium of himself. In the address "To the Reader" prefixed to *Religio Medici*, he declares the work to have been "a private exercise directed to myself," so that "what is delivered therein was rather a memorial unto me, than an example or rule unto any other."

In his skepticism Browne is more given to railing, and not so profoundly serious as Montaigne. He has no hesitation in approaching religious questions; but, like Montaigne in "Raymond Sebond," he prefers to leave the clouds massed about the Infinite. Instead of stopping with Montaigne at the merely human point of view, however, Browne passes through the region of uncertainty to a degree of faith that falls down and worships. There are two other details of resemblance. Browne, too, scorns the thought of fearing death; but in his case one recognizes sincerity, while regarding Montaigne's excessive protestation there is always suspicion. The *Religio Medici* also reëxpresses Montaigne's regret that man is not able to procreate alone, without conjunction. Like the Frenchman, Browne affected to despise women, and like him again, he married and lived happily with his spouse.

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[1] Quoted, *ibid.*, ii. 10.

[2] Many of these comparisons are made in Texte, *op. cit.*, p. 61 *sq.*

This carries the influence of Montaigne through our period. He appears to have been in great part the inspiration of the essay vogue in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Various of his characteristic peculiarities — his desire for freedom of thought, his personal point of view, his fondness for citations — were repeated, in great part through his influence, in numerous English writers. Actual discipleship in the matter of his essential doctrine of Pyrrhonism finds expression in only one important document, *The Skeptick* of Sir Walter Raleigh. The real service of Montaigne to the English writers seems to have consisted in affording them a veritable storehouse of suggestions and citations, on every side of every desirable subject, so arranged that they were comparatively easy of access. The evidence of this chapter shows that Englishmen were by no means slow to take advantage of the opportunity. After the Restoration, as England acquired the new taste for speculative thought, and began the zealous reading of Pascal and Descartes, interest in Montaigne's *Essais* was renewed, and they acquired an influence much more vital than before. One feature of their popularity was the new English translation, in 1685, from the pen of Charles Cotton.

CHAPTER VII

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PRÉCIEUSES AND PLATONISTS

It is true that the characteristics represented by the terms "précieuse" and "Platonist" have fundamentally nothing to do with each other. During the progress of the seventeenth century, however, circumstances of environment brought these characteristics into intimate contact, as they were cherished and exploited together in the same circles of French and English society. Both terms, employed in such connections, must be given rather broad connotations, for the *précieuses* of this time were a brilliant and mobile group of social leaders, and their Platonism was incidental to their relations with the coteries.

Neither *préciosité* nor "Platonism" came with any degree of novelty to the threshold of the century. The reconstructed tenets of Platonic doctrine had long before found a naturally sympathetic medium in the Petrarchan sonnet tradition of Italy; and with its help had been taken up by the refined society there, to be spread abroad, either through poetic borrowing or through the more direct influence of *Il Cortegiano* and its kindred, until Platonism had flowered and well-nigh decayed in France and England both, — a poet's dream and a lover's fancy. The "precious" tendency, manifest wherever emphasis is placed upon the luxurious refinement of expression, rather than upon lucidity of thought and depth of emotion, had appeared freely throughout Europe in the train of the Renaissance, as men reveled in the fair and subtle possibilities of their own vernacular.

Both these tendencies, for a time, seemed in a fair way to decay before the conditions of society were favorable to their departure; then suddenly they were rehabilitated.[1] The story of their revival is a familiar one. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the court of France was coarse, licentious, given up to intrigue. Catherine de Vivonne, of Italian birth and training, entered this court at this time as the bride of the Marquis de Rambouillet. Being at once beautiful, refined, talented, and virtuous, she found nothing to her liking there, and by 1608 had withdrawn to her own dwelling and begun to exercise her remarkable powers of hospitality. Soon there grew up about her a circle of intimates, spirits more or less kindred, who gladly congregated at this attractive home, where refined amusement was dispensed and polished expression encouraged.

Almost contemporary with the beginning of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet,* there was published in France the first part of D'Urfé's long-winded pastoral romance, the *Astrée.* The first two books were printed in 1610, though the work was somewhat known to the public before that time.[1] It came as the most comprehensive specimen of its kind yet devised, displaying in its interminable career all the recognized conventions of the Greek and Spanish romances, together with those of the Italian pastoral. There was the ever submissive, ever faithful lover, bowing to adverse fate and to his lady's interpretation of proprieties, the long train of heroic adventure, the psychological analysis, the surfeit of polite manners and courtly conversation, the frequent device of disguises, the employment of subsidiary pairs of lovers, the intervention of oracles, the extravagance of an over-ripe rhetoric, the tendency to present contemporary people as characters in the story. Familiar situations and incidents would meet the reader at every turn. But, for some reason, what appeared as the final resultant of centuries of development suddenly found itself seized upon with fresh zeal by the public, and thus became the impetus of an entirely new line of activity. The *Astrée* became immensely popular, and in its cultured polish appealed primarily to the very class of people who were gathering into the circle of Madame de Rambouillet. The story was refinement itself, with a becoming observance of all the proprieties. Conversation, naturally the chief resource of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet,* was a prominent feature of the book; and one of the favorite topics of the circle's discussions was the moving passion of the whole story — love. The one new thing, indeed, which the *Astrée* seems to have added to the mass of conventions which it assembled, is an element especially significant in seventeenth century France, and already manifest in the first principles of the *Hôtel;* namely, conformity to reason and recognized standards. In the *Astrée* more than the manners of knights and ladies conformed to the proprieties. There was a fairly obvious attempt to give a historic basis to the whole narrative, to fix it somewhere in the realm of time and space; a drifting, in other words, toward what men have since characterized as the *mondaine* spirit.

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[1] It should be noted that in this rehabilitation the use of the *name* "Platonism," or rather of the adjective "Platonic," is characteristic of the English courtiers, to whose minds it seems to have indicated much that was involved in French *préciosité*.

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[1] Cf. Drummond's letter, *infra,* p. 366.

From this time on, for half a century, there was a constant relation between romances and social circles. Specimens of the former were read and discussed freely by the latter, and went far to encourage and emphasize tendencies already prevalent there. Thus the ultra-Platonic spirit of the romance wooings gave its color to the fashionable love-making of society; and the growing custom of concealing well-known personages under the guise of romance characters lent approval to the high-sounding anagrammatic pseudonyms of the coterie leaders. These leaders in turn gave their attention to the composition of new romances, working into them the tone and spirit of their social gatherings, in the various modifications resulting from the passage of years. For these reasons there will be some confusion in the attempt that seems most desirable for these chapters, to treat separately the social effects of France on England, and the more direct borrowings from French romance in the interest of English romance and drama.

This development of the coterie in France during the first half of the century being an eminently vital and constantly changing thing, it seems best for our purposes to attempt a general definition of it in its flower — prior, perhaps, to 1625 or 1630; and again in its extravagantly pedantic decadence, as it appeared toward the middle of the century.

In its essentials, the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, the first great representative of this movement, was more closely akin to the earlier circles of the Italian nobility, as they are mirrored in *Il Cortegiano*, than to the later household gatherings in France and England, where the patronage extended by a wealthy and accomplished lady to a circle of dependent authors played so prominent a part.[1] The spirit of the *Hôtel* was at least dual in its origin, combining the delicacy and gallantry of the Italian tradition with the gravity and nobility displayed in the adventurous narratives of Spanish romance. This Spanish tendency to magnify the gallantly heroic was perhaps heightened at this time by the contrasting roughness of the French court. As in the Italian coteries, the influence of woman was dominant, but this time to such a degree that it gave a peculiarly distinctive tone to all the proceedings, — the amusements, the intellectual and literary exercises, the utmost vagaries of conversation. In this new coterie, the man of letters, no matter what his rank, might stand practically on an equality with the highest representative of the nobility. The prime requisite was the possession of sufficient *esprit*, accompanied by eminently proper manners. The regard for the *convenances* was developed to an unprecedented degree, to correspond to the advancing critical spirit of the country. The all-important place given to conversation was regarded later, at any rate, as in itself an outgrowth of feminine domination. Skill in discussion, sparkle in the give-and-take of repartee, was an end in itself; and anything, however trivial, served as a pretext for conversational exercise. The efforts at poetry were little more than embellishments to this conversation, — impromptu, ephemeral trifles, which lost their charm when taken from their surroundings or thrown into collected form. As might be expected, a large measure of attention was given to the passing of courtly compliment and to the devious processes of formal love-making, at first treated apparently with a half-playful seriousness.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 58 *sq*. The manners of these French *précieuses* were probably modeled on those of Italian circles of the later sixteenth century, especially in Ferrara and Sienna. Annibale Romei's *Discorsi* (1581, Engl. trans. 1598), for instance, would represent the tone of such society better than *Il Cortegiano*.

The second period of this *précieuse* movement displayed a natural outgrowth of decadent absurdities. Imitations of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* sprang up generally throughout France, and in many instances extended their hospitality freely to the ambitious *bourgeoisie.* The way had been prepared for this in the circle of Madame de Rambouillet, when *esprit* was accepted as a fundamental standard of excellence. Naturalness to a great degree gave way to affectation. Women became strong-minded pedants, claiming a pretentious part in public affairs and parading their supposed learning. Platonic wooing became an exaggerated prudery combined with coquetry, a love relation not always pure, a series of intricate maneuvers according to false standards, one of which proclaimed marriage a mere slavery. Assumed names, as well as periphrases for all simple statements, became a necessity, and the language of the elect grew into a strange jargon. From the tendency to represent people of the day as romance characters came the vogue of portraits, sometimes in stories, sometimes for their own sakes.

Both these stages of *préciosité* appear to have found a place across the Channel prior to the Restoration: the first as a concerted movement inspired by the presence in England of Henrietta Maria, the French queen of Charles I.; the second through the natural decadence of this movement, assisted by various fresh lines of impulse direct from France. When Henrietta came as a bride to England, in 1625, conditions were peculiarly ripe for any formal activity that made for refinement. The rough freedom of the court of James I.[1] had encountered a check in the somewhat finer nature of Charles, who was more romantic in his attitude to women, and never even cynical in his gallantries. His quest of the Spanish Infanta, indeed, was in the true vein of the popular romances; and to Henrietta, who was later won for him, he was affectionate and faithful. The influence of the queen, Anne of Denmark, had been a slightly redeeming one in James's reign; and various literary women, fond of extending patronage somewhat in the fashion of the earlier coterie, had offered a refuge for real sincerity of refinement. Most significant among these appears Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford, whose position resembled that of the Countess of Pembroke, except that she made less of her household as the center of a coterie. Donne, Jonson, Daniel, Chapman, Drayton, and John Davies of Hereford all pay tribute to her in one form or another,[2] the last-mentioned, for instance, dedicating his *Muses Sacrifice* to her in 1612, as "darling as well as patroness of the Muses."

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[1] Cf. the description of an entertainment at Theobald's to Christian of Denmark, 1606, in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, London, 1804, i. 348 *sq.* This reference, and much of the material in the next few pages, is drawn from J. B. Fletcher, "Précieuses at the Court of Charles I.," in *Jour. of Comp. Lit.*, i. 141 *sq.*

[2] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Platonism in England, as already noted, had become in this period a poet's dream, finding an expression of its mystic speculation in the work of Drummond and Donne. Occasionally it found a place in court shows during the time of the chivalrous Prince Henry, where "questions of love" were sometimes submitted to the decision of combat.[1] In one of these, Jonson's *A Challenge at Tilt at a Marriage*, 1613, the question is as to which is the superior love, that of Man, "the nobler creature," or of Woman, "the purer." Anteros, who sustains the Woman's cause, is in another masque, *Love Restor'd*, called by Jonson "Anti-cupid, the Love of Virtue," and is therefore identical with Platonic love, as understood by the *précieuses.*[2] An important expression of the ideals of Platonic love during this period was of course Fletcher's pastoral drama of chastity, *The Faithful Shepherdess.* This was produced as early as 1608–1609, and was at that time a complete failure, in part, no doubt, because the people were not then in a mood to take it seriously. In fact, Fletcher himself was antagonistic to such views, and thus perhaps arose the cynically artificial tone of the performance.[3]

Politeness at this time often found expression in the fantastic observances developed from the flood of Courtesy Books, which France had been largely responsible for scattering broadcast, and blending with the late effects of *Euphues* and *Arcadia.*[1] Thus in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, 1600, Amorphus is a master of courtly compliment and wooing, with Asotus as his pupil. The latter, after a burlesque series of instructions, issues a challenge to combat with the four weapons, — "the bare accost," "the better regard," "the solemn address," and "the perfect close." Mercury, disguised as a *French* stranger, enters the contest against master instead of pupil, and wins. In Shirley's *Love Tricks, or The School of Compliment*, acted 1625, the disguised Gasparo organizes a "Compliment School," which purports to give instruction in good manners and eminently fine expression. As indicated, the influence of Sidney's *Arcadia* was still pervasive. Sir William Alexander added to Sidney's romance in 1621, and Richard Beling appended a sixth book in 1627. Nine editions appeared between 1600 and 1642, and numerous plays were based on both the main story and minor episodes.[2] The medieval court-of-love machinery is employed in certain plays, where love courts or parliaments are held to try cases arising out of distinctly contemporary conditions, but there is nothing of the Platonic about them.[1] The *Astrée* had been early translated, but had apparently been regarded as merely one more conventional romance.

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[1] Cf. Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, ii. 49, 51, 716, 727.

[2] Noted by J. B. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 144, note.

[3] Cf. W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906.

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[1] As examples of Courtesy Books translated into English may be noted: E. de Refuge, *Traité des cours*, 1617, translated by John Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Court*, 1642; L. Ducci, *Ars Aulica, or the Courtiers Arte*, translated by E. Blount, 1607; Gracian Dantisco, *Galateo Español*, translated into English in 1640.

[2] On the main story: (1) Day, *The Isle of Gulls*, acted 1605; (2) *Love's Changelings' Change* (Ms.); (3) *The Arcadian Lovers, or the Metamorphosis of Princes*

The young queen Henrietta, though not submitted directly to the influence of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, had no doubt grown up in sympathy with much of its significance, and had become well acquainted with its tenets, as court and coterie continued to grow closer together. She was born in 1609, and brought up under the care of Madame de Monglat, and her daughter Madame St. George. From earliest childhood her inclination was toward accomplishments and the fine arts, rather than toward more solid learning. As a child she found particular amusement in private theatricals, and soon learned to dance and sing with unusual ability. She frequently took part in court ballets and state pageants, and after 1620 shared joyously in all social activities. Her future husband, indeed, first saw her as she was dancing in a masque with the young French queen and the court ladies.[2] A little

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(Ms.); (4) Shirley, *Arcadia*, acted about 1632. On episodes: (1) Beaumont and Fletcher, *Cupid's Revenge*, printed 1615; (2) Glapthorne, *Argalus and Parthenia*, printed 1639; (3) J. S., *Andromania*, printed 1660.

[1] Cf. Marston, *Parasitaster, or The Fawn*, 1606, and Massinger, *The Parliament of Love*, 1624.

[2] Cf. *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, ed. Mary A. E. Green, London, 1857, pp. 3–4; and Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. v.

later, during the first negotiations for Henrietta's hand, Lord Kensington wrote of her to Charles: "She dances — the which I am witness of — as well as ever I saw any one: they say she sings most sweetly; I am sure she looks as if she did."[1] Through one circumstance, at least, Henrietta was brought into almost direct contact with the *Hôtel de Rambouillet,* only a little while before her departure for England. Gombauld, a young poet of the *Hôtel,* conceived an ambitious passion for Marie de Médicis, the mother of Henrietta, and gave expression to this in his romance *Endymion.* He received the advice and encouragement of Madame de Rambouillet in this venture, and when at last he was bidden to read his composition at court, held a complete dress rehearsal under Madame de Rambouillet's criticism. *Endymion* was graciously received by Marie de Médicis and the queen, and was printed at their request in 1624, after circulating for some time in manuscript.

It is hardly worth while to go into detail concerning Henrietta's arrival in England with her French Catholic retinue, and the troublous times immediately ensuing there.[2] The feeling between the two countries was intense; the retinue of the girl queen was tactless and highly partisan, doing much by its advice to arouse hostility between husband and wife. At length the king summarily dismissed the entire household; and not until the embassy of the broad-minded Bassompierre, at the close of 1626, was the disturbance really calmed. Then followed a period of comparative peace, growing better daily, and court and queen began to meet on a friendly footing and get really acquainted.

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[1] Strickland, *op. cit.*, v. 198.

[2] Cf. James Howell, *Familiar Letters,* ed. Jacobs, London, 1892, pp. 238, 242. The *Calendar of State Papers* for this period affords abundant details.

In 1627 a certain W. D. translated from the French a romance by Vital d'Audiguier, with the title, *A Tragi-Comicall History of Our Times, Under the Borrowed Names of Lisander and Calista.* The translator dedicated this to "Mistris Francis Fortescu and Mistris Elizabeth Duncomb," with these words: "This French Knight and his Lady being importuned, contrary to their design, and the fashion of this time (which is almost all French) to appear to publick view in this their English habit; and knowing how subject strangers are to malignant humours (a disposition grown so common, that like a contagious disease it hath infected the whole world) they have made bold to expose themselves abroad under your auspicious and candid names . . ." This would indicate that, as early as 1627, people felt strongly the effect of French influence. It would not be impossible to read into the line concerning strangers and "malignant humours" a reference to the unfortunate experiences of the queen upon her first coming.

Certainly by 1631 she was in the best of spirits and perfectly at home in her English court; while even before this she was gratifying her fondness for dramatic pieces, and the kind she had enjoyed at home, at that. Records[1] show that the Christmas of 1625, even, was celebrated by plays at court, one of them being a French pastoral. In the following March it is noted that the queen has acted in a masque, "which once would have been thought a strange sight." The queen appears to have prepared a masque for the Christmas season of 1626 also. Amusement is emphatically the key-note of a letter sent by her to Madame St. George in 1631. "Send me," she says, "a dozen pairs of sweet chamois gloves, and also I beg you to send me one of doeskin; a game of joucheries, one of poule and the rules of any species of games now in vogue."[2] "The following spring," adds the English editor of Henrietta's letters, referring to the *Gazettes de France*, for June 4, 1632, "we find her heading a train of lords and ladies, filling no fewer than one hundred and fifty coaches, on a Maying expedition. The queen was dressed *à l'Anglaise*, and no sooner was a bush spied, with its beautiful load of white and pearly blossoms, than she sprang out of her coach, gathered the first branch, and placed it in her hat."

Dramatic annals show that in 1629 a company of French players, with women in the troupe, appeared with questionable success on the

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[1] Cf. *Calendar of State Papers* for 1625–1626.

[2] Cf. *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, ed. cit., p. 18.

English stage.[1] These people had probably counted on the patronage of the court, but for some reason, either because their work was of a low order, or because Henrietta was unwilling to outrage what was yet a powerful English prejudice, this patronage does not seem to have been forthcoming.[2] Ben Jonson's comedy, *The New Inn*, acted in the same year, is more significant. Lovel, whose modesty has thus far permitted him to love the Lady Frampul only at a distance, gives a description of her, in the first act.

"She is
A noble lady! great in blood and fortune!
Fair! And a wit! but of so bent a phant'sie,
As she thinks naught a happiness, but to have
A multitude of servants![3] and to get them,
(Though she be very honest) yet she ventures
Upon these precipices, that would make her
Not seem so, to some prying, narrow natures."

In the next scene of the same act he says again:—

"She being the lady that professeth still
To love no soul or body, but for ends,
Which are her sports: and is not nice to speak this,
But doth proclaim it, in all companies."

Lady Frampul, attended by Prudence her chambermaid, and some "servants," establishes her quarters at the inn where Lovel is lodging. There is promptly organized a "high court of sovereignty," in which love complaints are to be heard, decisions rendered, and penalties executed. Prudence is made mistress of the day and queen of this court of love. The host, volunteering as Lovel's "high counsil," charges Lady Frampul with disrespect, for which she is commanded to entertain Lovel as her "principal servant" for two hours, in conversation of love, and he in return is to take two kisses publicly. In the ensuing conversation Lovel develops an idea of love that is purely Platonic; Beaumont, his former ward, interrupting from time to time with anti-Platonic sentiments. Lovel has lines like these: —

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[1] Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poesy*, ii. 22–24, quotes from Sir H. Herbert's Office Book and a letter by Thomas Brandes.

[2] A second troupe, in 1635, fared very differently; cf. *infra*, p. 372 *sq*.

[3] Servants of love, the sense frequently used in the play.

> "Love is a spiritual coupling of two souls,
> So much more excellent, as it least relates
> Unto the body; . . .
> The end of love is to have two made one
> In will, and in affection, that the minds
> Be first inoculated, not the bodies." [1]

A little farther on, his discussion fairly anticipates Mlle. de Scudéry's celebrated *Carte du Tendre:* —

> "The body's love is frail, subject to change,
> And alter still with it; the mind's is firm,
> One and the same, proceedeth first from weighing,
> And well examining what is fair and good;
> Then what is like in reason, fit in manners
> That breeds good-will; good-will desire of union.

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[1] Act iii, sc. 2.

So knowledge first begets benevolence,
Benevolence breeds friendship, friendship love:
And where it starts or steps aside from this,
It it a mere degenerous appetite,
A lost, oblique, deprav'd affection,
And bears no mark or character of love."

When he is done, Lady Frampul asks regarding Lovel: —

"Who hath read Plato, Heliodore, or Tatius,
Sidney, D'Urfé, or all Love's fathers, like him?"

It is worthy of special note that these are all romance writers except Plato, that the Frenchman D'Urfé is among them, and that no Italian is included. This would hardly have been true if Castiglione had been a fashionable favorite at that time. Before the second hour of conversation, Lovel has prepared some love verses for the occasion, in typical coterie fashion. Here is the vogue of "Platonism" in full power again, attended by many of the characteristics of the social circle — the presiding lady, the conversation, the impromptu verse. Apart from the exclusion of Italians, however, there is nothing to prevent this from being regarded as a mere revival of vanishing conventions. However much it may have pleased the court, the play was a failure before the public.

About the same time as Jonson's play, there was produced before the court[1] Thomas Goffe's

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[1] The title-page of this play declares that it was performed before their Majesties (at Whitehall, the prologue adds) and also publicly at Salisbury Court. This latter was opened in 1629.

Careless Shepherdess, a pastoral drama of no particular value in itself, but significant as further evidence of Henrietta's fondness for this form. There are the customary pairs of lovers, enduring the customary ill luck and delay. The ladies, however, are not so cold and Platonic as in many pastorals.

Only a few years more, and there is again evidence that Henrietta and her ladies were themselves appearing in a pastoral performance before the king. This time the information is clear and complete. The date of the performance is known to have been January 8, 1632–1633,[1] and the play, if such it can be called, was *The Shepherd's Paradise*, by the queen's friend and favorite, Walter Montague. Montague had met Henrietta in France when he was there in 1624 in secret negotiations about her marriage. He was again in France in 1625, and on frequent occasions afterward, and when in England was on most confidential terms with the queen. In fact, he was converted to Catholicism in 1635, and was for some years Henrietta's Catholic agent in the two countries, making France his permanent residence after 1649.[2] It is not surprising that a pastoral prepared by him for Henrietta should show considerable French influence, as indeed it does. It is a dull production of some 6300 lines, utterly devoid of incident or dramatic quality. The plot and general tone are those of the chivalric romance, giving way to the pastoral spirit in descriptions of the Paradise itself, where all the principal characters finally arrive. This is a sequestered vale where a select and courtly company dwell in chastity, presided over eventually by the pure and somewhat Platonic Fidamira.

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[1] The date is fixed by a letter written by John Chamberlain.

[2] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

The style of the whole production is intricate and involved, abounding in various forms of conceits; the sort of thing that was already familiar in the romantic tales, was beginning to appear in the French coterie of Madame de Rambouillet, and was destined eventually to play the chief part in making the *ruelles* ridiculous. That this play was itself so obscure as to become a jest, and that the French bias of Montague was generally recognized, are points clearly indicated in the reference to him in Suckling's *Session of the Poets,* written not long after:—

"Wat Montague now stood forth to his tryal,
And did not so much as suspect a denial;
But witty Apollo asked him first of all,
If he understood his own Pastoral,
For if he could do it, 'twould plainly appear
He understood more than any man there,
And did merit the bayes above all the rest;
But the mounsieur was modest, and silence confest."

The coincidence, so unfortunate for William Prynne, between the appearance of Henrietta and her women in this performance, and the publication of his *Histriomastix,* severely condemning the women actors among the French players of 1629, needs no discussion here. At any rate, it must have brought Henrietta's new-fangled tastes and inclinations into decided prominence, thus giving a strong impetus to the combined appreciation of French coterie notions and romantic and pastoral material. Just a year later, — Twelfth Night, 1633–1634 — there was revived for presentation by the queen and her ladies before the king, Fletcher's pastoral play, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, which had scored such a decided failure when first produced in 1608–1609,[1] and which presented a point of view that the author himself seems to have recognized as contrary to contemporary notions, and that he could not avoid giving in a cynical tone. There is little probability that the same lack of harmony was felt by the retinue of this play-loving queen, so devoted to the pastoral tradition, with its ideal chastity and romantic situations.

The ensuing year affords some decisive evidence on the recognition of these new tendencies as a definite vogue, with special importance upon the element which for England seemed to denominate the movement, — namely, the fashion of Platonism. James Howell, in a letter addressed to Mr. Philip Warwick, at Paris, says: —

> "The Court affords little News at present, but that there is a Love call'd Platonick Love, which much sways there of late; it is a Love abstracted from all corporeal gross Impressions and sensual Appetite,

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[1] A second edition had appeared in 1629.

but consists in Contemplations and Ideas of the Mind; not in any carnal Fruition. This Love sets the Wits of the Town on work; and they say there will be a Mask shortly of it, whereof Her Majesty and her Maids of Honour will be part."[1]

The masque thus referred to is generally supposed to be William Davenant's *The Temple of Love,* "acted by the Queen and her Ladies at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday, 1634." The date affixed to Howell's letter — June 3, 1634, — would prevent this association, except for the recognized unreliability of Howell's dates.[2] The argument of the masque explains how Divine Poesy, the Secretary of Nature, is sent by fate to Queen Indamora, representing Henrietta Maria, "to signify the time prefixed was come, when, by the influence of her beauty, — attended by those lesser lights, her contributary ladies, — the Temple of Chaste Love should be reëstablished in this Island." The conversation of some magicians concerning this reëstablishment is particularly illuminating. The first asks: —

"But who shall bring this mischief to our art?"

The third replies: —

"Indamora, the delight of destiny!
She, and the beauties of her train; who sure
Though they discover summer in their looks,
Still carry frozen Winter in their blood.
They raise strange doctrines, and new sects of Love;

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[1] Howell, *Familiar Letters*, ed. Jacobs, 1892, i. 317.
[2] *Ibid.*, introd. by Joseph Jacobs.

Which must not woo or court the person, but
The mind; and practice generation not
Of bodies but of souls."

The conversation continues:—

"*2nd. Mag*:—But where shall this new sect be planted first?
3rd. Mag:—In a dull northern isle, they call Britaine.
2nd. Mag:—Indeed 'tis a cold northerly opinion:
And I'll lay my life begot since their late
Great frosts. It will be long enough ere it
Shall spread and prosper in the south! Or, if
The Spaniard or Italian ever be
Persuaded out of the use of their bodies
I'll give mine to a raven for his supper.
3rd. Mag:—The miracle is more increased, in that
It first takes birth and nourishment in Court.
2nd. Mag:—But my good damn'd friend, tell me: Is there not
One courtier will resent the cause, and give
Some countenance to the affairs of the body?
3rd. Mag:—Certain young Lords at first disliked the philosophy
As most uncomfortable, sad, and new;
But soon inclin'd to a superior vote,
And are grown as good Platonical lovers
As are to be found in an hermitage."

A little later, when the Persian youths are announced, the Second Magician says of them:—

"I hope these are no Platonical lovers,
No such Carthusian poets as do write
Madrigals to the mind?"

There is once more definite mention of Henrietta as the sponsor of this movement, when the fourth Magician declares:—

"... a voice
Sent from within bade them with reverence
Desist till Indamora did appear, for then
The gates would open, and the mists dry up:
That thus conceal'd it from the general view,
Which now their expectation doth attend."

It was at this same period that William Habington prepared his poems to Castara. Some statements made by him in the preface to this collection demand careful attention. Speaking of poetry, he says: —

"It hath too much ayre, and (if without offence to our next transmarine neighbor) wantons too much according to the French garbe. And when it is wholly imployed in the soft straines of love, his soul who entertaines it loseth much of that strength which should confirme him man. The nerves of judgement are weakened most by its dalliance; and when woman (I mene onely as she is externally fair) is the supreme object of wit, we soon degenerate into effeminacy. For the religion of fancie declines into a mad superstition, when it adorns that idoll which is not secure from age and sicknesse."

The rather obscure reference in this to existing poetic fashions is cleared up somewhat by a study of Habington's poems themselves. The Platonism that he affects is of the extreme sort, severely strict in conception, and thus supposed to justify a relation of the sexes close and familiar to the last degree. The attitude he assumes is almost identically that held up to ridicule a year or so later by the courtly Davenant in the character Theander in the *Platonic Lovers;* and his almost Puritanic Castara is drawn in even severer lines than Davenant's Eurithea.[1] The explanation would seem to lie in this direction. Platonism as an active working principle was not accepted by the English courtiers of this time in its really serious and austere aspect, any more than serious and austere Platonism was the vogue in the social intercourse of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*. It was Platonism given a gallant or courtly twist; welcomed, as it had been in Italy long before, as an excuse for more zealous love-making, while the extreme "Platonic" of the poet's imagination, once embodied in the flesh, would have been considered as much a fanatic as the Puritan[2] and not unlike him. The way in which these distinctions were felt is well indicated in George Daniel's poem, "Love Platonicke,"[3] written in 1642, where separate place is given to the Platonicke pretender, the Pure Platonicke, the Court Platonicke, and the Anti-Platonicke. Habington, then, in the rôle of the Pure Platonic, would seem to take occasion in his preface to condemn the employment of poetry in the questionable service of courtly love gallantry, in the fashion which the Court Platonics had of late imported from France. Of course this interpretation is open to some question, but the known conditions of the time appear to justify it.

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[1] See *infra*, p. 334 *sq.;* also cf. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 146 *sq.*

[2] Halliwell's Reprint (1850), for the Percy Society, of the *Royal Garland, or a Choice Collection of Songs highly in request, and much esteemed in the past and present times*, London, 1686, contains two songs, one "Platonick Love," the other "The Platonick Lover." The first of these is a rollicking anti-Platonic, which in one place designates the Platonic lover as a Puritan. The second song, though brief, is in a seriously Platonic strain.

[3] *Infra*, pp. 348–349.

The cultivation of Platonic gallantry having been accepted by the English courtiers as so essential a feature of life in the French coterie, it is perhaps best to proceed at once to a consideration of the evidence indicating the development of this as an ideal and a practice throughout our period. Related characteristics may be noted in passing or taken up more systematically later.

In 1635 Joseph Rutter's "pastorall tragicomedie," *The Shepherd's Holiday*, was acted before both their Majesties at Whitehall. It was another outcome of the growing taste in the English court for pastoral and romantic drama.[1] Rutter was a member of Jonson's latest circle, and tutor to the son of the Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain to the queen. At the Earl's desire he made a translation of the *Cid* two years later. In an epilogue to his play, addressed to the king and queen, Rutter says: —

> "To you, most royal pair, whose lives have brought
> Virtue in fashion, and the world have taught,
> That chaste innocuous sports become the stage,
> No less than civil manners do the age,
> We dedicate this piece but yet with fears
> To have displeas'd so chaste, so tender ears."

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[1] See chap. viii.

In the play Thyrsis, the foundling son of the king, and Sylvia, the king's supposed daughter, are Platonic lovers. They talk a romantic sort of serious Platonism in the third scene of the fourth act. Mirtillus stands as an anti-Platonic.

Shirley, who had taken occasion to ridicule Prynne bitterly over the *Histriomastix* affair,[1] has a reference to court Platonism in his *Lady of Pleasure,* licensed in this same year. In the fifth act a certain lord is urging upon Celestina a love that is anything but chaste. This dialogue ensues: —

"*Cel.* — What love do you mean?
Lord.— That which doth perfect both; madam, you have heard
I can be constant, and if you consent
To grace it so, there is a spacious dwelling
Prepar'd within my heart for such a mistress.
Cel. — Your mistress, my good lord?
Lord. — Why, my good lady,
Your sex doth hold it no dishonour
To become mistress to a noble servant
In the now court Platonic way. . . ."

In Shirley's drama *The Duke's Mistress,* acted in 1636, he has another reference to the same fashion. Horatio has been urging the advisability of loving ill-favored ladies, as the only sort whose constancy can be depended upon. In the presence of the fair Aurelia and Macrina, and the ill-favored Fiametta, he declares:[2] —

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[1] Cf. his *Bird in the Cage,* printed 1633, and the dedication of it; also the lines prefixed to Ford's *Love's Sacrifice.*

[2] In act iii, sc. 2.

"To be short, ladies,
Howe'er you may interpret it my humour,
Mine's a Platonic love; give me the soul,
I care not what coarse flesh and blood enshrine it."

In 1636 appeared Davenant's *The Platonic Lovers*, most of the play being given to discussions bearing on Platonic Love. The author, although posing in the epilogue as an advocate of the doctrines, looks at the matter from the cynical viewpoint of the court gallant, and finds much amusement in the conception of a "pure Platonic," such as Theander. Especially significant is his frequent insistence that this is a feminine fashion. The prologue proceeds: —

"Ours[1] now believes the Title needs must cause,
From the indulgent Court, a kind applause,
Since there he learnt it first, and had command
T' interpret what he scarce doth understand.
And then, forsooth, he says, because 'tis new
'Twill take; and be admir'd too by a few:
But all these easy hopes I'd like t'have marr'd,
With witnessing his title was so hard,
'Bove half our city audience would be lost,
That knew not how to spell it on the post.
Nay, he was told, some critics lately spent
Their learning to find out, it nothing meant."

In the first act Fredeline says of Theander and Eurithea, the pure Platonic lovers: —

". . . The first are lovers of a pure
Celestial kind, such as some style Platonical;
A new court epithet scarce understood;
But all they woo, sir, is the spirit, face,

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[1] Our poet.

And heart, therefore their conversation is
More safe to fame. The other still affect
For natural ends."

Theander and Eurithea certainly are a pair of extremists. He visits her chamber at night, and they chat there chastely and prettily of their love. The close relation of these ideas to the pastoral tradition is shown in their plan of meeting in the garb of shepherds in a neighboring grove, there to continue their love talk.[1] Theander remonstrates with Phylomont, who desires to marry his sister: —

"You two may live
And love, become your own best arguments,
And so contract all virtue, and all praise:
Be ever beauteous, fresh, and young, at least
In your belief; for who can lessen, or
Defile th' opinion which your mutual thoughts
Shall fervently exchange? And then you may
Beget reflections in each other's eyes;
So you increase not children but yourselves
A better, and more guiltless progeny;
These immaterial creatures cannot sin."

A decidedly different conception of Platonic love, the coarse misinterpretation that dominated its decline, appears in the discourse of Fredeline to Castraganio and Amadine, in the third act. "My sister," says Castraganio,

". . . asked me ere
You came, why you endeavour'd thus to have
The lady married to another, whom you meant to love?
Fred. — That's the platonic way; for so
The balls, the banquets, chariot, canopy,

[1] Cf. specifically *The Faithful Shepherdess.*

And quilted couch, which are the places where
This new wise sect do meditate, are kept,
Not at the lover's but the husband's charge.
And it is fit; for marriage makes him none,
Though she be still of the society;
Amad. — And may besides her husband, have
A sad platonical servant to help her meditate.
Fred. — All modern best court authors do allow it."

Buonateste assumes a critical attitude on the whole matter, being especially severe on the ladies. His conversations with Fredeline display this best. The first quotation is from the second act, the other from the fourth.

1. "*Buon.* — My Lord, I still beseech you not to wrong
My good old friend Plato, with this Court calumny;
They father on him a fantastic love
He never knew, poor gentleman. . . .
Fred. . . . But did not Plato write of love?
Buon. — Divinely, sir. But not such kind of love
As ladies would have now."

2. "*Buon.* — You are in love.
Fred. — Platonically, sir: no other ways.
Buon. — Fie! fie! profess a friendship, and presume
To gull me with a lady's paradox."

As the play progresses, Theander's extreme views are gradually broken down, until at last he concludes: —

"Then surely I must yield . . .
Yet we, my Eurithea, have a while
So rul'd each other with nice fears, that none
Hereafter will in civil kindness doubt
There are Platonic lovers, though but few;
The sect conceal'd, and still imagin'd new."

Then follows the author's epilogue, with another insistence on the idea that this is a feminine fad.

"Unto the masculine I can afford,
By strict commission scarce one courteous word:
Our author has so little cause to boast
His hopes from you, that he esteems them lost,
Since not these two long hours amongst you all
He can find one will prove Platonical.
But these soft ladies, in whose gentle eyes
The richest blessings of his fortune lies,
With such obsequious homage he doth greet,
As he would lay his laurel at your feet:
For you, he knows, will think his doctrine good,
Though 't recreate the mind, and not the blood."

Two other plays of the same year use the Platonic doctrines as a matter of jest. There is no mention of the court this time, but one direct reference to France. In another play by Davenant, *The Wits*, the third scene of the second act, the elder Pallatine is cataloguing his "Virtue Library":—

"A pill to purge phlebotomy, — A balsamum
For the spiritual back, — A lozenge against lust;
With divers others, sir, which, though not penn'd
By dull platonic Greeks, or Memphian priests,
Yet have the blessed mark of separation
Of authors silenc'd, for wearing short hair." [1]

In the third act, second scene, of the same play, Pert says to Lucy, with great show of politeness:—

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[1] This recalls again the association of Platonism and Puritanism in men's minds.

> "The title will be better'd, madam, when
> I am become a servant to your beauty."

Lucy then remarks to young Pallatine: —

> "Why, your confederate Pert is courtly too,
> He will out-tongue a favourite of France."

In William Cartwright's *The Royall Slave*, the fifth scene of the second act, certain Ephesian captives are caught attempting a rape. They explain it as: —

> "A little Love-sport only; we were arguing
> Pro and con out of Plato, and are now
> Going to practise his Philosophy."

One of the ladies declares: —

> "What they stile Love-sport only, and misname
> An arguing out of Plato, would have prov'd
> A true and down-ripe rape, if that your presence
> Had not become our Rescue."

In John Suckling's play *Aglaura* (printed 1638), which was acted first for the public, and then, with the murder of the king omitted, before the court, there is considerable discussion of Platonic love, as well as numerous indications of romance influence. Semanthe is the especially Platonic character, with Orsames as the anti-Platonic. After one of their conversations, Orsames is relating his experience to some other courtiers. This dialogue follows: —

> "*Ors.* — I had no sooner nam'd love to her, but she
> Began to talk of flames, of flames
> Neither devouring nor devour'd, of air
> And of chameleons.

1st. *Courtier.* — O the Platonics!
2nd. *Courtier.* — Those of the new-religion in love! your lordship's merry,
Troth, how do you like the humor on't?
Ors. — As thou wouldst like red hair or leanness
In thy mistress, scurvily! 't does worse with handsomeness
Than strong desire could do with impotence:
A mere trick to enhance the price of kisses."

Suckling comes out much more definitely as a devotee of Platonism in his letters to Aglaura.[1] In a letter without address among his *Letters to Several Eminent Persons,* appears this sentence: "After all, the Wages will not be high; for it[2] hath been brought up under Platonicks, and knows no other Way of being paid for Service, then by being commanded more."

James Howell, who was especially devoted to the service of the queen, and on the closest terms with others of her particular favorites, concentrated his literary effort upon letter-writing, perhaps under the influence of another French fashion.[3] A certain selection of these letters[4] shows him in the rôle of the devoted *précieux,* lavishing upon the Lady Elizabeth Digby a series of overrefined and intricate courtly compliments. At times there appears through the maze of his phraseology an unmistakable evidence of Platonic avowal. Thus: —

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[1] The *Letters to Several Eminent Persons,* among which these appear, were first printed imperfectly in 1646 and 1648; then, with additions, in 1658.

[2] *I.e.* his heart. This letter is printed on p. 77 of the 1719 ed. of Suckling's *Works.*

[3] *Infra,* p. 438 *sq.*

[4] Howell, *op. cit.,* ii. 414–415, 534, 558. The first two bear respectively the dates August 5, 1640, and August 10, 1647.

> "If you would suffer yourself to be adored, you should quickly find me religious in that kind. However, I am bold to send your Ladyship this, as a kind of Homage, or Heriot, or Tribute, or what you please to term it, in regard I am a true Vassal to your Virtues; And if you please to lay any of your Commands upon me, your Will shall be a Law to me, which I will observe with as much Allegiance as any Branch of Magna Charta."

Howell bears further witness to the active employment of these notions in a letter addressed to Mr. Thomas W., and dated as early as February 3, 1637. He says there: "F. C. soars higher and higher every day in pursuance of his Platonic Love; but T. Man is out with his, you know whom." [1]

William Habington, in his "tragi-comedy," *The Queen of Arragon*, which Philip, Earl of Pembroke, the royal chamberlain, caused to be acted at court and then printed, against the author's will,[2] has one reference to Platonism in practice. This, by the way, is decidedly more worldly in its conception than was his attitude in the *Castara*. Oniates is in love with Floriana, wife of Sanmartino, and she and Cleantha are discussing the situation.

> "*Flor.* — He is a gentleman; and, add to that,
> Makes good the title.
> *Clean.* — Haply he may so,
> And haply he's enamour'd on thy beauty.

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[1] Howell, *Familiar Letters*, ed. cit., ii. 407.
[2] Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, iii. 224.

Flor. — On mine, Cleantha?
Clean. — Yes, dear Floriana;
Yet neither danger to thy chastity,
Nor blemish to thy fame; custom approves it." [1]

In *The Goblins*, another play by Suckling, written in 1642, further reference to the Platonic vogue crops out, with an apparent thrust at the artificial language of its votaries. In the first scene of the second act, the speech of Sabrina: —

"How now, my Samorat!
What saucy heat hath stol'n into thy blood,
And heighten'd thee to this? I fear you are
Not well, . . ."

calls forth this comment from Orsabrin: —

"Sfoot! 'tis a Platonic:
Now cannot I so much as talk that way, neither."

In 1651 there was printed a play by William Cartwright, which is supposed to have been written not long before 1643. It is entitled *The Lady Errant*, and is peculiar in this connection, in that it seems to depict or anticipate a type of the strong-minded woman, as developed among the *précieuses* of France and England. In the absence of the men at war, the women plot to gain control of the state. The title-rôle is that of a quixotic lady adventurer, who finally plays into the hands of the Princess Lucasia and her friend Eumela, thereby foiling the plot. In addition to some bits of highly romantic coloring, there are these references to Platonism. In the second scene of the first act, Iringus says to his fellow-courtiers: —

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[1] Act i, sc. 1.

"She that, if there were Sexes 'bove the Moon,
Would tempt a Male Idea, and seduce
A Separate Hee-Substance into Lewdness,
Hath smil'd, glanc'd, wink'd, and trod upon my toes."

Near the end of the second act there is a conversation, engaged in by Lucasia, Florina, and Malthora, in which some of the characteristic teachings of Platonism are again expressed. In 1647 Clarendon wrote a letter to Lady Dalkeith, still apparently taking a serious view of the matter.[1]

The worst side of Platonism, looked at from a cynical, even hostile point of view, is found in a play printed anonymously in 1659, under the title, *Lady Alimony; or, The Alimony Lady. An Excellent Pleasant New Comedy. Duly authorized, daily Acted, and frequently Followed.* It is supposed that this was written years before its publication, though a reference to "crop-eared histriomastixes" necessarily places it after Prynne's unfortunate experience. The word "Platonic" is here definitely accepted as a term of reproach, and Platonic love as only a finer phrase for adultery or cuckoldry. Yet the adherents of the vogue display certain other *précieuse* tendencies along with their Platonism.

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[1] This is noted on the authority of C. H. Firth in Howell's *Familiar Letters*, ed. Jacobs, ii. 756.

Trillo's preliminary words sound the key of the whole composition, as for instance when he declares that the author — "has some swingeing stuff for our fresh Dabrides, who have invested themselves in the Platonic order, and retain courage enough to make an exchange of their old consorts with their new confidants and amorous pretenders." Then comes the Prologue, especially directed to the ladies, with the assurance that the author has no idea of identifying them with the lewd Platonics.

"Madams, you're welcome; though our poet show
A severe brow, it is not meant for you.
Your virtues, like your features, they are such,
They neither can be priz'd nor prais'd too much:
Lov'd and admir'd wheres'ever they are known,
Scorning to mix Platonics with your own:
Sit with a pleasing silence, and take view
Of forms vermillion'd in another hue,
Who make free traffic of their nuptial bed,
As if they had of fancy surfeited."

In the second scene of the second act, the description of one of the ladies, as given by a boy, introduces us directly to a most familiar type among the later *précieuses* — the *femme savante.* "That love-spotted ermine," he says, "is Madam Fricase, a woman of a rampant spirit; a confident pretender of language; and, for the Latin, she makes herself as familiar with the breach of Priscian's head as if it were her husband."

All of the next scene is given up to conversation, highly polished and adorned with many conceits, between the ladies and their Platonic wooers. Finally terms are agreed upon, constancy is vowed, and secrecy is enjoined. As the lovers leave the stage, one of the boys remarks, "Trust me, they couple handsomely, as if they had been married after th' new fashion." In the next scene the Platonics organize a formal court of love, to hear the causes of the ladies and justify their separation from their husbands.

From all these citations, falling as they do into so systematic an arrangement, no uncertain conclusion may be drawn. When Henrietta Maria came to England, young, inexperienced, and looked upon with suspicion, she brought with her the French taste of the time for culture, refinement, gallantry, and literary expression, as recognized and practiced in the *ruelles* she had left behind. At first the difficulties of her situation prevented the extension of her influence. But as time went on, this influence was displayed in the court enjoyment and participation in dramatic productions of the pastoral-romantic sort; in the establishment, as a practice of social gallantry, of the principles of Platonic love, more or less modified; and in the renewed vogue given to the adornments and conceits of conversational eloquence. Of course the queen and her immediate attendants were not alone in the circulation of this influence. Englishmen of learning and distinction, whether closely attached to the queen or not, were constantly paying visits to the continent and making the acquaintance of its literature. Frenchmen from the inmost circles of the coteries occasionally found their way to England. Théophile de Viau, Voiture, Saint-Amant, and Boisrobert, all are known to have crossed the Channel. But to Henrietta seems to belong the credit of giving the real impetus that set these tendencies in movement.

Closely associated with what has been treated as the denominating phase of this influence are three other lines of development: the tendency to follow the French lead in certain minor literary forms, such as *vers de société,* letter-writing, etc.; the greatly increased interest in romances and romance material, resulting in numerous translations from the French and in the working over of French romance situations for dramatic purposes; and the appearance of certain actually or supposedly accomplished women as the leaders of English coteries. The first two of these matters, being concerned with the progress of definite literary genres, may be left for further consideration,[1] with only pause enough to call immediate attention to the prevalence of Platonism in the first, and to the interest and patronage of the king and queen in the second.[2]

Practically every cavalier poet has something to say in his verse concerning Platonic love, usually something of a sort to substantiate the conclusions already deduced. Habington's *Castara* has already been mentioned, with its extreme views in the direction of the pure Platonism that justifies and purifies almost the last degree of familiarity. His verses and prose introductions are crowded with variations on these ideas. An emphatic contrast appears in the current poem, "The Antiplatonic," which found a place in the 1640 edition of Francis Beaumont's verses.[1]

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[1] See chaps. viii and ix.

[2] Discussed further in chap. viii.

"Vertue's no more in woman kind,
But the green sicknesse of the mind.
Phylosophy, their new delight,
A kind of charcoale appetite.
There is no sophistry prevailes
Where all-convincing love assailes;
But the disputing petticoat will warp,
As skillfull gamesters are to seek at sharp."

Carew merely alludes to the matter from time to time, but even such allusion suggests the prevalence of the vogue. John Suckling, in the dual capacity of poet and letter-writer, enters somewhat into the fashion of Platonic wooing. His letters to Aglaura, as noted, are built on the Platonic structure; and whether serious or not, are a good example of courtly love-making. He voices the essential principles of the doctrine in his poem "Against Fruition," which Waller took occasion to answer stanza by stanza, in another piece of verse. Suckling's contentions in this poem, however, are those of the surfeited gallant rather than of the philosophic theorist. Waller subscribed to the convention, however, in his poems to Sacharissa, — Lady Dorothy Sidney. This is apparently a Platonic verse-wooing of the earlier type, not unlike Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* verses. Much more than in Sidney's case, though, Waller's efforts seem impersonal and passionless, always conscious of an audience, and content in the promise of immortality for the author, whatever the success of the suit. This finds definite expression at the end of his "Phœbus and Daphne Applied":[1] —

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[1] Chalmers, *English Poets*, vi. 189.

"Yet, what he sung in his immortal strain,
Though unsuccessfull, was not sung in vain:
All, but the nymph that should redress his wrong,
Attend his passion and approve his song.
Like Phœbus thus, acquiring unsought praise,
He catch'd at love, and fill'd his arms with bays."

Lord Herbert of Cherbury and John Cleveland, in their apparent discipleship to John Donne, might be expected to ring the changes on the idealistic and fantastic conceptions for which he was sponsor. The former treats of Platonism in his "Ode upon a question moved whether Love should continue forever"; the latter in his "To Cloris, A Rapture." William Cartwright opposes the Platonic fashion, as indicated in his poem "No Platonique Love:"[2] —

"Tell me no more of minds embracing minds,
And hearts exchang'd for hearts;

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[1] *Ibid.*, viii. 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, vi. 528.

That spirits spirits meet, as winds do winds,
And mix their subtlest parts:
That two unbodi'd essences may kiss,
And then, like angels, twist and feel one bliss.

I was that silly thing that once was wrought
To practice this thin love;
I climb'd from sex to soul, from soul to thought;
But thinking there to move,
Headlong I rowl'd from thought to soul, and then
From soul I lighted at the sex agen."

Most significant in many respects is the poem of George Daniel, already mentioned, bearing the title "Love Platonicke." This dates from the year 1642, when the lines of distinction may be supposed to have been very accurately drawn. It is in eight parts, the first three addressed to an imaginary Cinthia, who is under process of conversion from mere coquetry to Platonism. Then there are four parts, devoted in turn to the Platonicke pretender, the Pure Platonicke, the Court Platonicke, and the Anti-Platonicke. A stanza or so from each will suffice.[1]

1. "The word Platonicke pleases thy Conceit;
And some new thing
Thou would'st have others understand in it;
But canst not bring
One Accent, to evince
It, from the Common Sins
Of Appetite and Naturall Desire.

* * * * *

For in Platonicke Love thou canst doe more
With yielding Females, then in Lust before."

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[1] *Poems*, ed. Grosart, 1878, i. 113 *sq.*

2. "Wee distinguish nothing to
The outward fforme, as Lovers doe;
Nor value by the rule of Sence;
Wee know noe Sexe's difference,
Equall in Pre'eminence.

To the Sympathising mind,
Neither hinder, neither bind;
But in either's brest wee move,
And Affections Equall prove;
This is pure Platonicke Love."

3. "Let us perfect all our worke;
Nature's fires should never lurke;
And the Act alone can Seale
Mutuall Joyes; which to reveale
Were Treason — and I will not tell."

4. "Give me buxome Youth, and Blood
Quickned in the understood
Caution of Love; a free desire
To meet with mine, in Equall Fire,
And doe the Act, wee both Conspire."

The whole concludes with a brief address "To the Sweet feminine Platonickes."

"Ladies, (for only to the Feminine
Wee breath these gentle Ayres;) it resteth in
Your power to raise us, (beyond all the right
Wee claime, to Poet,) in this present Flight;
For love Platonicke is a Dreame; (a dull
Imperfect glance of the most beautifull
Object our nature claims to); wanting you
Who makes that up an Act, was but a Show."

Cowley has two poems in which he takes the view of the anti-Platonics; — namely, "Platonic Love," and the "Answer to the Platonics."[1] He appears, however, to have been later a devoted friend of the English coterie leader, Mrs. Catherine Philips, "the Matchless Orinda." Two of his poems are dedicated to this friendship: "On the Death of Mrs. Catherine Philips," and "On Orinda's Poems."[2]

As might be expected, there are fairly definite indications that the rôle of coterie leader soon became familiar to the women of England, and appeared so attractive in their sight that they became ambitious for a similar distinction. Three names rise into prominence in this connection, belonging to somewhat different periods of time and different ranks of society, and representing, indeed, correspondingly different characteristics of the *précieuse.* The ladies in question are Lucy Hay, Countess of Carlisle, Mrs. Catherine Philips, and Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. The first of these, the Countess of Carlisle, was a close friend and companion of Queen Henrietta Maria, and enjoyed the greatest influence during the ministry of Lord Strafford, whom she dominated completely. Obviously the French influence operating upon her was that of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet,* in its early freedom of activity, and it is this spirit that she displays. She was a woman of wit and accomplished attractiveness, the center of social activity, and took great delight in the interests and intrigues of statecraft, without appearing unwomanly. She enjoyed the homage of the greatest men of her time, both statesmen and literary lights, molding their opinions and lending inspiration to the creations of their pens. A whole flood of occasional verse offers tribute to her name. William Cartwright wrote "A Panegyrik to the Most Noble Lucy, Countess of Carlisle";[1] Carew celebrated her under the name of Lucinda;[2] Herrick, in *Hesperides*, devoted a poem to "a black twist rounding the arm of the Countess of Carlisle":[3] Carew and Suckling together made her charms the subject of a by no means Platonic verse dialogue;[4] Davenant and Waller wrote consolatory verses to her upon the death of her husband in 1636. Sir Toby Matthew, as an essay at the French vogue of literary portraiture, so common in the romances, circulated in manuscript, about 1637, a "character" of the most excellent Lady Lucy, Countess of Carlisle. Sir Toby also tried his hand at letter-writing, as did his friend James Howell and others. This character, after becoming generally known through manuscript circulation, was first published in 1660 with a collection of Sir Toby's letters dedicated to Lady Carlisle. Suckling, in his *Session of the Poets,* even goes so far as to insinuate that Matthew's reputation depended on his choice of a subject for portraiture.

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[1] Chalmers, *English Poets,* vii. 105 and 106.

[2] *Ibid.,* vii. 98 and 88. A poem on "Platonic Love" appeared among John Hall's *Poems,* 1646 (Saintsbury, *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period,* ii. 196).

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[1] *Works,* ed. 1651, p. 183.

[2] *Poems,* ed. Hazlitt, pp. 41, 117.

[3] *Hesperides,* ed. Boston, 1856, i. 116.

[4] Chalmers, *English Poets,* vi. 495.

"Toby Mathews (pox on him) what made him there?
 Was whispering nothing in somebody's ear,
 When he had the honour to be named in court,
 But, sir, you may thank my Lady Carliel for't."

In view of the wide circulation of this "character," statements made in it may be taken as fairly authentic. Two of them bear witness to important qualities in a coterie leader: her cultivation of *esprit*, and her passionless attitude toward love.

> "Her wit being most eminent among the rest of her great abilities, she affects conversation of the persons who are most famed for it."
>
> "She cannot love in earnest, so contenting herself to play with Love as with a child. Naturally she hath no passion at all."

These points are further emphasized in the verse "Panegyrik" by Cartwright. Having praised the lady's beauty in most lavish terms, he turns his attention, in the usual Platonic manner, to the superior qualities of her mind and soul.

"But Beauty is not all that makes you so
 Ador'd by those who either see or know;
 'Tis your proportion'd Soul, for who ere set
 A common useless Weed in Christall yet?

* * * * *

. . . For that light which we find
Streams in your Eye, is knowledge in your Mind;
That mixture of bright Colours in your Face,
Is equall Temperance in another place;

That vigour of your Limbs, appears within
True perfect Valour, if we look but in;
And that Proportion which does each part fill,
Is but dispencing Justice in your Will.

*   *   *   *   *

But you who've gain'd the Apex of your kind,
Shew that there are no Sexes in the Mind,
Being so Candid, that we must confess
That Goodness is your Fashion, or your Dress,
That you, more truly Valorous, do support
Virtue by daring to be good at Court. . . ."

In Mrs. Philips,[1] rejoicing in her assumed title of The Matchless Orinda, we appear to have an excellent specimen of the coterie leader, such as was produced among the *bourgeoisie* of France when the vogue became decadent. It was 1647 before her doors were thrown open to the circle of second-rate brilliancy which gathered at Cardigan to assume new and romantic names, to prate of ideal friendship, and to dabble with their hostess in literature. This first circle extended to about the time of the Restoration, and then the worthy hostess, journeying to Ireland, was discovered by nobility and acquired a following of talented and titled literary people there. In the early circle, or associated at a distance, were such men as Sir Charles Cotterel, Jeremy Taylor, Henry Lawes, and Samuel Cooper, with various ladies of no particular importance. After the Restoration appeared the Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Roscommon, James Tyrrel, John Ogilby, and others. Cotterel seems to have been a particular favorite with Orinda, who interested herself in his supposed romantic attachment for her dearest friend Lucasia (Anne Owen). Cotterel stood well at court, having been made Master of Ceremonies there in 1641, and thus had ample opportunity to keep pace with French social customs. He translated part or all of La Calprenède's *Cassandra,* associated with William Aylesbury in the translation from Italian of Davila's *History of the Civil Wars in France,* and was a friend of Robert Codrington, translator of the *Memoirs of Margaret of Valois.* Upon the execution of Charles I. Cotterel fled to Antwerp, and remained abroad until 1660. Later in their friendship, Orinda wrote him a series of letters, addressing him always by his coterie name of Poliarchus.[1] Lawes was one of the leading musical composers of the day, and on good terms with the best poets, whose verses he often set to music. Cooper was a celebrated miniature artist, and had made portraits of many of the court celebrities. Jeremy Taylor, the great preacher and theological writer of the period, was an intimate friend, and answered to the coterie name of Palæmon. Various poets, not directly of the circle, paid tribute to Orinda. Henry Vaughan wrote a poem in 1651 "To the Most Excellently Accomplished Mrs. K. Philips"; John Davies dedicated to her his translation of the ninth book of *Cléopâtre* in 1659; and after the Restoration all of literary Ireland and England united in her praise. Then it was that she found herself at the crest of the wave. Her intimate friends were translating and composing romances and dramas, projecting academies, and experimenting with classic forms, while her own translations from Corneille were given high rank and received with lavish compliment.

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[1] Cf. J. J. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 372–373; Edmund Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, p. 205 *sq.;* G. Saintsbury, *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, i. 487 *sq.*

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[1] *Infra,* p. 446.

It is her significance in the earlier period with which this study is concerned. For this we have fairly adequate evidence, including the *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus* — which, dating from 1661 to 1664, still continue the spirit of the earlier time; — her poetic works,[1] which contain much of earlier composition; Jeremy Taylor's treatise on the *Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship*, 1657; and the recently mentioned dedication by John Davies, in 1659. The letters are chatty, but phrased with great care; and while they express deep gratitude and dilate on confidential friendship, show no trace of passionate love or mawkish sentiment toward Cotterel. The happenings of the coterie and the social and literary gossip of the day are given much importance, with frequent references to Lucasia, who by this time had married another. There are exchanges of literary work, together with requests that Poliarchus advise about her translations, polish her sentences, and correct her proofs.

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[1] Her poems were collected and published in 1667, after her death.

The poetic efforts of Orinda further establish the character of her salon; indicating clearly enough the combination of friendship, poetry, and devotion which these people were seriously modeling on the French coteries. The heart became the subject of deep contemplation and endless analysis, the sensibilities received undue development, and the petty happenings of social gatherings were given a momentous importance. A few titles selected here and there from the poems are sufficient.

p. 25.[1] A Dialogue of Absence, twixt Lucasia and Orinda. Set by Mr. Hen. Lawes.
p. 30. To Mrs. Mary Carne, when Philaster Courted her.
p. 31. To Mr. J. B. the noble Cratander, upon a Composition of his which he was not willing to own publickly.
p. 32. To the excellent Mrs. Anne Owen, upon her receiving the Name of Lucasia, and adoption into our Society, Dec. 28, 1651.
p. 45. To the truly competent Judge of Honour, Lucasia, upon a scandalous Libel made by J. J.
p. 47. To Antenor,[2] on a Paper of Mine which J. J. threatens to publish to prejudice him.
p. 55. To Regina Collier, on her Cruelty to Philaster.
p. 55. To Philaster, on his Melancholy for Regina.
p. 65. Parting with Lucasia. A Song.
p. 94. A Friend.[3]

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[1] The page references are to the edition of London, 1678.

[2] Her husband.

[3] This presents her favorite idea, expressed by Jeremy Taylor in his *Discourse*, that woman should be able to share with man in friendship.

p. 126. A Dialogue betwixt Lucasia and Rosania. Imitating that of Gentle Thersis.

Several translations from the French appear among her poems, including Saint-Amant's "Solitude"; "*Tendres Desirs*" — out of a French poet; and a pastoral of Mons. de Scudéry in the first volume of *Almahide.*

Taylor's *Discourse* was apparently called forth by certain questions asked by Mrs. Philips. It was dedicated to her, and she responded with a poem "To the Noble Palæmon, on his incomparable Discourse of Friendship." In the dedication he says: —

> "They who understand the secrets of religion, or the interior beauties of friendship, are the fittest to give answers in all inquiries concerning the respective subjects; . . . and therefore you who are so eminent in friendships, could also have given the best answer to your own inquiries." . . . [1]

As he proceeds with the discussion of the friendship of man and woman, it is apparent that Orinda and her circle, however much they kept the forms of Platonic wooing, did not agree in a theoretical worship of Platonism. Friendship, he says, feeds upon pure materials.

> "Where these are not, men and women may be pleased with one another's company, and lie under the same roof, and make themselves companions of equal prosperities, and humour their friend; but if you call this friendship, you give a sacred name to humour or fancy; for there is a Platonic friendship as well as a Platonic love; but they being but the images of more

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[1] Taylor, *Works,* ed. 1822, xi. 301.

> noble bodies, are but like tinsel dressings, which will shew bravely by candle-light, and do excellently in a mask, but are not fit for conversation and the material intercourse of our life."[1]

Taylor, however, would admit woman into his highest degrees of friendship.

> "But by the way, Madam, you may see how much I differ from the morosity of those cynics, who would not admit your sex into the communities of a noble friendship. . . . I cannot say that women are capable of all those excellences, by which men can oblige the world; . . . but a woman can love as passionately, and converse as pleasantly, and retain a secret as faithfully, and be useful in her proper ministries; and she can die for her friend as well as the bravest Roman knight."[2]

John Davies says of her,[3] paying particular tribute to her knowledge of foreign literature and her fondness for romances: —

> "When I consider you a person so much above your Sex, in the command of those Languages, wherein things of this nature have ordinarily their first birth and consequentlie, that what is intended for the entertainment of others proves your trouble; a Translation being no lesse to one that hath read the Original: When I reflect on your curiosity to look into these things before they have hardlie taken English aire, as it were to prevent the earliest applications of those who labour in this kind: When, in fine, it runs into my thoughts, that what I now bring your Ladyship will haplie have the fate to be cast by, with, I have long since read it in the Original, 'tis but poorly done into English. I must confesse myself guiltie of a strange suspense of resolution, whether I should

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[1] *Works*, ed. cit., xi. 313 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[3] Dedication of bk. ix of *Hymen's Prœludia.*

venture on this Addresse or no. . . . For, reflecting on your great affection and respects for the excellent Cleopatra, your particular enquiries after her wellfare and adventures, and the tenderness which makes you wish the misfortunes of so great a Princess were at a period, I can think it but just, that the person, from whom she had, unknown, received those great Civilities, should accordingly be returned the peculiar acknowledgements thereof."

He further states that his desire to dedicate to her is "heightened by a reflection on the particular favours I have received from your Ladyship."

Thus we see in Orinda the *bourgeoise* leader of a salon, having refined friendships between the sexes as her hobby, encouraging her "society" to fictitious names, to more or less Platonic love-making, and, in emulation of her own pretentious efforts, to the composition of occasional verse and to literary excellence and appreciation in general, with a particular fondness for romances.

The most peculiar specimen of *précieuse* in England, however, remains to be considered, in the person of the Duchess of Newcastle. Certain of the characteristics she displays beyond a doubt; others usually associated with these are strangely suppressed. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that she held to her early views during the gay career of the Restoration court, thus making her peculiarities appear in still bolder contrast. She was for two years — 1643–1645 — in attendance upon Henrietta Maria, accompanying her to Paris, as did a whole flock of English literary people, such as Cowley, Shirley, Crashaw, and Hobbes. There in 1645 she married the future Duke of Newcastle, with whom she remained abroad — except for one visit of eighteen months — until the Restoration. Of her numerous literary works, poetical, philosophical, and dramatic, most of the plays and poems and at least two philosophical treatises were, by her own statements,[1] composed during her stay on the continent and her visit to England. She was certainly a woman of independent thought, which took the form of all sorts of whimsical and fantastic notions to which her sublime conceit attributed vast importance. Being considered as a *précieuse,* she should not be expected to follow beaten paths, but rather to accept from the vogue the suggestions of chastity, affectation, or emancipated womanhood, and then develop them according to her own vagaries. Her *précieuse* tendencies may be briefly considered.

First appears her sincere insistence upon chastity. In this regard she might have stood with the noble hostess of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet,* for even at a time when purity was prudery and a cause for jest in the streets, she practiced and defended the extreme of virtuous living. Though attended by none of the hypocritical intrigues of the decadent Platonists, this chastity is indeed so often paraded by the Duchess that it becomes almost offensive and certainly suggests posing. Posing and affectation, indeed, were among her most prominent characteristics, attended by a strange delight in fantastic garments of her own device. Pepys describes her appearance in 1667,[1] and she herself testifies for an earlier period: "I took great delight in attiring, fine dressing, and fashions, especially such fashions as I did invent myself, not taking that pleasure in such fashion as was invented by others. Also I did dislike any should follow my fashions, for I always took delight in a singularity, even in accoutrements of habits." She was especially fond of having her portrait painted in one of these striking outfits. That there was a French prototype for this sort of thing appears from Mlle. de Scudéry's description of the presumptuous Damophile,[2] apparently a rival and imitator. When this lady had a portrait made, she stood before a great table on which were books, pincers, a lyre, and some mathematical instruments. It was necessary even that she be represented attired as one of the Muses.

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[1] *Memoirs,* ed. Brydges, 1814, p. 23. These were first printed in 1656, as the last book of her *Nature's Pictures.*

The Duchess had that tendency toward philosophical thought and extravagant expression which seems the peculiar property of the confirmed *précieuse* and *femme savante.*

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[1] Pepys, *Diary*, April 11, 26, May 1, 1667; Evelyn, *Memoirs*, April 18, 27, 1667.

[2] Cf. *Artamène ou le grand Cyrus*, x. ii. Noted by V. Cousin, *La Société française au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1858, ii. 144.

But her affectations of style followed nobody's lead, and the uncouth philosophy she developed was in no way the result of the usual round of study. In fact she was constantly protesting her repugnance to such study. In the General Prologue to her plays she says: —

> "But noble readers, do not think my plays
> Are such as have been writ in former days;
> As Johnson, Shakespear, Beaumont, Fletcher writ,
> Mine want their learning, reading, language, wit.
> The Latin phrases I could never tell,
> But Johnson could, which made him write so well.
> Greek, Latin poets, I could never read,
> Nor their historians, but our English speed."

A similar statement occurs in her *Memoirs*.[1]

The tendency she had to put herself in her plays is often a matter of comment. There is hardly a play, indeed, in which she does not seem to portray herself in some character or other. Here she had model enough in the work of Mlle. de Scudéry, and in the general custom among the French romance-writers, of inserting numerous descriptions of their contemporaries. Notwithstanding her peculiarities, the Duchess either had sincere admirers, or by virtue of her position made it profitable for men to profess admiration for her. Needless to say, she would enjoy such attention. Besides the various adulatory poems prefixed to her works, there was enough other material of the sort to justify the publication, in 1676, of a book of "*Letters and Poems in Honour of the Incomparable Princess Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle, written by several Persons of Honour and Learning.*"

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[1] Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle*, ed. C. H. Firth, London, 1886, pp. 311–312.

A final tendency, that of leadership and dictation in morals and manners, is supplied by Cibber, in his *Lives of the Poets*,[1] where he tells that in her later life she kept constantly about her a coterie of young ladies as companions and amanuenses; probably, in return for their attendance, instructing them according to her ideas of social and literary proprieties. Truly, as Pepys puts it,[2] "the whole story of this lady is a romance and all she does is romantic."

These various loosely connected details serve to make the situation comparatively clear. Soon after the marriage of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria there passed into England a current of French influence which first affected those circles of society nearest the court. There was a revived interest in dramas of a pastoral or romantic tone, a tendency to regulate English social life according to the practices encouraged by Madame de Rambouillet in France, and most significant of all — at least to the minds of the courtiers — there was a movement toward a revived Platonism, to be adapted as in France, to the formalities of social gallantry. This Platonic vogue, with the type of society that fostered it, soon ran its course in England, as it did on the continent, and became the jest of courtiers and the pride of certain of the *bourgeoisie.* Certain literary forms, however, which had found their way from France to England while these social forces operated, occupy a prominent place in the literary history of England prior to the Restoration and demand further consideration. They are in particular the prose romance, the romantic drama, the epic or heroic poem, *vers de société,* burlesque, and literary correspondence.

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[1] Ed. London, 1753, ii. 164.

[2] *Diary*, April 12, 1667.

CHAPTER VIII

Romance, Drama, and Heroic Poem

There was no time, from the appearance of Sidney's *Arcadia* to the Restoration, when there was not in England a considerable interest in romances, pastoral or heroic, and when representatives of the genre were not being utilized either in translation or as material for drama. As French specimens of greater importance began to appear in the seventeenth century, they drew their share of interest from the English public, so that by 1625, the year of Henrietta's arrival, the *Astrée* and its small French following had established for themselves in England a position just about equal to that of the English *Arcadia* or the Spanish *Amadis.* Among various other influences due to the arrival of the young French queen and her followers, prominence must be given to the dual effect this seems to have had on the romance tradition. First, by her confirmed tastes and habits Henrietta brought a great new impetus to the general popularity of the pastoral romances, whether for themselves or for dramatic purposes. Second, she gave encouragement to what would in any case have been a natural tendency, that of turning for romantic material and inspiration to the great French heroic vogue which was at that time supplanting all the earlier developments of romance in its extent and popular interest.

The story of the influence exercised by the French pastoral romance prior to 1625 is soon told. The *Astrée* is mentioned, several years before its actual publication, by William Drummond, writing from Paris, on February 12, 1607, to Sir George Keith.[1] After describing at length the picture of a very beautiful young woman, such a one "as Apelles would have made Choice of for the Beauty of Greece," he adds: "She was said to be the Astræa of the Marquis D'Urfee." Very soon after its appearance, the *Astrée* attracted the interest of translators in England, an English version being entered on the *Stationers' Register* as early as 1611. The earliest extant edition of the translated work, the First Part, in twelve books, by John Pyper, bears the date of 1620, but it is announced as "newly translated." To about this time must belong the favorable comment which appears in an undated letter to William Drummond by William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, devoted admirer of Philip Sidney and author of an addition to the *Arcadia* in 1621. He says: —

> "The most lofty of the other" [*i.e.* prose pastoral romances] "is the Marquis D'Urfe in his Astræa, and the choice pieces there, representing any of the better sorts, do seem borrowed from ancient Histories, or

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[1] Drummond, *Works*, ed. Edin., 1711, p. 141.

else Narrations that hapned in Modern Times, rather than true Discourses showing Persons such as they were indeed, though with other names, than for the framing of them for Perfection, they should have been devised to be."[1]

In 1610 *La Bergerie de Juliette*, written in 1592 by Ollenix du Mont-Sacré, was translated by Robert Tofte, with the title *Honour's Academy or the Famous Pastoral of the Fair Shepherdess Julietta.*[2] About 1608 John Fletcher had produced his pastoral, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, which did not at that time please the play-going public and was withdrawn, though an edition seems to have been published by 1610. There was probably nothing of French origin about this play, but it was destined later to figure in the new impulse under Henrietta. Three other productions by this author soon followed, in which French sources were involved. His *Valentinian* was acted some time before 1618. This was a faithful, though enlarged rendering of the "Histoire d'Eudoxe, Valentinien et Ursace," in the second part of the *Astrée.* This material had been variously utilized in France by the time at which Fletcher wrote, and might thus have come to him indirectly; but the *Astrée* was probably the most convenient collected source to be had. *The Wandering Lovers*, by Fletcher, seems to belong to the year 1623, but was supplanted by the revision made by Massinger and produced as *The Lover's Progress* in 1634, apparently under the new vogue of romance and Platonism. The material for this is drawn from Vital d'Audiguier's *Histoire tragi-comique de nostre temps sous les noms de Lysandre et de Caliste.* This was printed anonymously in France in 1615, and appeared in English translation in 1627, several years before Massinger's version of the drama.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[2] A translation is entered on the *Stationers' Register*, 1607, for Gervase Markham.

Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas* has been shown [1] to be based in part on the episode of Celidée, Thamyre, and Calydon in the second part of the *Astrée.* This story was used in several French plays and may have come through one of them, or have been utilized by Fletcher at first hand. Though the action in the drama is expanded and made more heroically romantic, there is no doubt that Celidée, Valentine, and Francisco there correspond to Celidée, Thamyre, and Calydon. Not the least important bit of evidence is the speech of Valentine, at the close of the play, to Francisco, who is not elsewhere spoken of as Calydon. Valentine's words are: —

"Take her, Francisco, now no more young Callidon,
And love her dearly."

Two other French characters, Thomas and Launcelot, appear in the drama.

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[1] A. L. Stiefel, (*a*) Review of Koeppel's "Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Ben Jonsons, John Marstons und B. & F.," in *Zeits. f. vergleich. Litt.*, xii. (1898), 248; (*b*) "Zur Quellenfrage von John Fletchers Monsieur Thomas," in *Eng. Stud.*, xxxvi, pt. 2 (1906), 238 *sq.*

Barclay's political romance, the *Argenis*, which had appeared in its original Latin form in France in 1621, was published in 1625 as: *Barclay His Argenis, or the Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis, Faithfully translated out of Latine into English by Kingesmill Long.* Another translation, by Sir R. de Grys, was issued in 1629, and Long's version was reprinted, with a key, in 1636.

In keeping with the statement already quoted[1] from the dedication of W. D.'s translation, in 1627, of D'Audiguier's *Lisander and Calista*, the interest in romance material, as in all things French, began to show definite increase at about this time. Under date of November 9, 1627, the *Stationers' Register* bears this entry: "The true historye of the tragique loves of Hippolito and Isabella Neapolitans Englisht, with the tale of Narcissus out of Ovid's third booke of his Metamorphosis." This work appears to be the translation of the *Histoire des tragiques Amours d'Hipolite et d'Isabelle*, which had appeared in France as early as 1597. Far more significant is the character of the story written down about this time by Sir Kenelm Digby as his *Private Memoirs*. Digby was a much-traveled courtier who had been with the embassy of Charles in Spain, and later was made gentleman of his privy chamber. He was a close friend of the literary men of England, and presumably in touch with prevailing fashions. In 1625 he had been secretly married to Venetia Stanley; and while touring the Mediterranean, about two years after, as he states in his appendix, wrote the story of his wooing in highly colored romantic fashion, just as D'Urfé was supposed to have related his own experiences in the *Astrée*. Venetia, under the name of Stelliana, is made a typical romance heroine, preserving her chastity amid the greatest trials; her suitors being Ursatius, a courtier; Mardontius, an unknown young man; and the ultimately successful Theagenes — Sir Kenelm himself.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 320.

The year 1629 marks the appearance of French players, including women, upon the English stage, apparently with the hope of favor from the young queen. The innovations they brought, however, were apparently too great for the Englishmen of that day. The records in Sir H. Herbert's Office Book[1] mildly suggest this, and a private letter of the time, vouched for by Collier,[2] gives emphatic assurance of it. Probably in the same year, one of the earliest of a long line of romantic and pastoral plays was presented before the court at Whitehall.[3] This was Thomas Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, which, according to the title-page, was also publicly given at Salisbury Court. The plot is irregular and badly motived, dealing with the much-crossed love of Philaritus, son of a "gentleman of Arcadia," for a shepherdess. Apollo and the Sibyls are introduced, with the customary oracle.

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[1] J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, ii. 22 *sq*.

[2] *Ibid*., ii. 23.

[3] Cf. the statement in the prologue of the play. See p. 324.

As far as our information goes, it was not until after 1632 that these court productions became very common. A prominent representative appears in Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise*, acted by Henrietta and her ladies, January 8, 1632–3.[1] In this the pastoral element is confined to the definite area of the paradise, around which moves a romantic plot with plenty of chivalric coloring. There is the tangle of affections among high-born characters, and at last the revelation of long-concealed relationships, all told in the elaborately wrought language belonging to the genre.

By the following Twelfth Night, Henrietta Maria and her ladies were engaged in presenting the revived *Faithful Shepherdess*, with its refined Platonic atmosphere. In this same year, 1634, Davenant paid tribute to the new court vogue of Platonism in his *Temple of Love*, and Massinger's version of *The Lover's Progress* was presented. This latter drama, whose indebtedness to French romance is beyond doubt, is a fair example of the fashionable romantic play of the period. The chaste Calista is approached at midnight by her husband's friend Lisander, but she repulses his love advances in an ideally

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[1] Cf. the announcement of this in a letter written by John Pory, January 3, 1632–3, quoted in *Court and Times of Charles I.*, London, 1848, ii. 214.

Platonic manner. Lidian and Clarange both love Olinda, who agrees to favor the one who returns to her last. Single combats ensue, attended by grievous misunderstandings. Calista's husband is killed and Lisander falsely accused of the murder. Finally he is cleared, and after some disguising and a contest of courtesy, Olinda's heart is satisfactorily bestowed. Sir Thomas Hawkins's translation out of French of *A Saxon History of the Admirable Adventures of Clodoaldus* also appeared in 1634. Hawkins was a translator of some importance, including among his French material Pierre Matthieu's *Unhappy Prosperity,* translated in 1632.[1]

The year 1635 is especially rich in material. Early in the year there appeared in England another company of French players, which, according to the records, received first the approval of the queen and then played at Whitehall with much success.[2] Afterward, under royal patronage, they gave performances, received the most favorable concessions, and enjoyed so prosperous a season that arrangements were finally made to give them a permanent playhouse.[1] Herbert carefully states in his records that he extended unusual courtesies to this troupe because he wished to render the queen, his mistress, an acceptable service; and King Charles himself appears to have been active in getting these players settled in a playhouse of their own.

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[1] His other translations from the French include: *The Holy Court, or the Christian Institution of Men of Quality,* by Nicholas Caussin, 1626, 1634, 1638; *The Christian Diurnal,* by Caussin, 1632; and *The Lives and singular vertues of Saint Elzear, Count of Sabrary and his Wife the blessed Countesse Delphine, both Virgins and Married,* by Étienne Binet, 1638.

[2] From Sir H. Herbert's Office Book (Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage,* ed. 1890, chap. vi, D, 339), under date of February 17, 1635: "A French company being approved by the Queen at her house 2 nights before and commended by her Majesty to the King, acted Melise, a French comedy, at the Cock pitt in Whitehall for which they had £10 with good approbation."

In the Office Book three plays of their repertoire are named, — *Melise*, *Le Trompeur Puni*, and *Alcimedon*. The identity of the first is uncertain. It may be Corneille's comedy *Melite*, which had been acted in 1629,[2] or Du Rocher's *pastorale comique*, *La Melize ou les Princes Reconnus*, acted in 1633.[3] *Le Trompeur Puni* was a play by Georges de Scudéry, first acted in 1631. It was based on material from the *Astrée*. The third seems to have been a tragedy by Du Ryer, acted in 1634. The effect of the presentation of these standard plays in the original tongue, under the patronage of royalty, must have been very considerable throughout English circles. Despite such ridicule as arose through the natural antipathy to foreign mannerisms,[1] attention was generally directed to the French stage, as well as to the tendency then operative there to draw material from romances.

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[1] Complete quotations from these records also appear in Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, ii. 66 *sq.* The special privileges of these players included the permission to play on the two Sermon-days of each week, as well as all through Passion Week.

[2] Cf. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des Théâtres*.

[3] In *Athenæum* for July 25, 1891, p. 139, Swinburne says, "Melize was a trivial piece, in a prologue to which, entitled *Le Rien*, some of the facetious sayings of Buiscambille were introduced."

This was also a good year for pastorals at the court. Of three of these we have record: Joseph Rutter's *The Shepherd's Holy-day*, Thomas Randolph's *Amyntas*, and the French *Pastorale de Florimene.* The first two, while testifying to the vogue, bear no specific mark of French influence. "La Pastoral de Florimene," say the records for December 21, 1635,[2] "fut representée devant le Roi et la Reine le Prince Charles et le Prince Palatine par les filles françaises de la Reine et firent tres bien dans la grande salle de Whitehall aux dépens de la Reine." Of this pastoral we have the plot only, and are not even informed as to what language the play was in, though the natural supposition is that it was French. There is some reason to believe that the material was drawn from French romance, and the result is only one more series of variations on the stock themes. Men are disguised as women, women as men; concealed relationships are made known at length; and mythology is called in to produce the dénouement.

Two other pastorals may conveniently be

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[1] Compare the ridicule of French acting in Glapthorne's *The Ladies' Privilege*, *infra*, p. 381.

[2] Herbert, *Variorum*, iii. 122; cf. Fleay, *Chron. Hist. of London Stage*, pp. 3, 9; Collier, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry*, ii. 68.

noted at this point: Cowley's *Love's Riddle*, which was printed in 1638, though probably written some years earlier when he was a student at Westminster School; and Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, unfinished at his death in 1637. Besides, there came to light or was revived in 1635 the pastoral piece *Amphrisa or the Forsaken Shepherdess*, which formed a part of Thomas Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, entered in that year. It is distinctly an earlier sort of English pastoral, and had probably been written before 1600, — perhaps even printed in 1597.[1] The great popularity of the pastoral at the time under consideration may have appeared to favor the publication of anything that at all fitted into the genre. As the period progressed, however, it seems that the pastoral tone gave place to the heroic in romance pieces, just as was the case in France.

A group of translations demands attention here, several of them being almost directly promoted by the queen. In 1636 appeared a version of Saint-Sorlin's *Ariana*, bearing this inscription: "As it was translated out of the French and presented to my Lord Chamberlaine." A second edition of this was published as early as 1641. In 1637 came Richard Hurst's rendering of a romantic piece with which Henrietta was already amply familiar, — Gombauld's *Endymion*, celebrating his ambitious love for

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[1] Cf. W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 374.

Marie de Médicis.[1] A second edition appeared only two years later. The *Stationers' Register* for January 29, 1637–8, bears the entry of "a Play called The Cid a Tragi-comedy translated out of French by Master Rutter." On April 6, 1638–9, is entered "a play called the Second part of the valiant Cid. Translated out of French by Master Rutter." The first of these was Joseph Rutter's rendering of Corneille's celebrated drama, and the second had to do with the "second part of the Cid" by L'abbé Desfontaines. Both appeared soon after their entry in the *Register*. The first edition of the *Cid* bears the date 1637, on the following title-page: "The Cid, a tragicomedy out of French made English and acted before their Majesties at Court and on the Cockpit Stage in Drury-lane, by the servants of both their Majesties." Rutter's translation was made at the desire of his patron, the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain to the queen; and owing to the fact that the play received publication in France almost contemporaneously, the theory has been advanced that the Earl of Dorset used his rank and acquaintance to secure advance sheets for Rutter before the play had been published at all.[2] The fact that Englishmen took so prompt an interest in the productions of the French stage argues well for the influence of France on the English literature of the time. The *Cid* appears to have had a cordial reception in England, its continued popularity being indicated by the demand for a new edition in 1650, eight years after the closing of the theaters.

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[1] *Supra.* p. 319.

[2] Dorothea F. Canfield, *Corneille and Racine in England*, pp. 3–5. The privilege of publication was granted January 21, 1637 (n.s.), and the play was not actually printed until March 23, 1637 (n.s.).

Vital d'Audiguier's *Lisander and Calista* was brought into prominence again in 1638, through the publication, by "William Barwick, gent.," of a new version of one of the books, under the title of "*Love and Valour: celebrated in the person of the author, by the name of Adraste; or the divers affections of Minerva; one part of the unfained story of the true Lisander and Caliste.*" The continued interest in the Greek romances is indicated by a translation, published in 1638, of *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe* by Achilles Tatius,[1] and by the entry, under date of January 30, 1637–8, of "a Booke called The famous history of Heliodorus amplified augmented and delivered paraphrastically in verse by William Lisle." In 1638, too, entry was made of a translation, though perhaps only a partial one, of Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire Comique des États et Empires de la Lune.* This book had apparently drawn on an English work in its composition, *The Man in the Moon*, by Francis Goodwin. Goodwin, under the pseudonym of Domingo Gonzales had written this story of a moon-journey toward the close of the sixteenth century, while he was a student at Christ Church. Though not published until 1638, this acquired some notoriety in manuscript, and so influenced De Bergerac, who acknowledged his obligation by meeting Domingo Gonzales on the moon and engaging in conversation with him.

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[1] A translation by William Burton had appeared in 1597.

So wide is the prevalence of romance coloring in the drama of the seventeenth century, and so difficult is the problem of distinguishing the distinctly French influence in this regard, that there is no possibility of a detailed account of dramatic obligations to contemporary heroic romances in France. The situation may indeed be illustrated by a few significant examples. Suckling's tragedy of *Brennoralt*, produced about 1640, certainly contains material from the romances. The relations of Almerin the rebel and the Palatine Iphigenes, though an old story going back to Ovid's "Iphis and Ianthe," formed the central motive of Bishop J. P. Camus's romance *Iphigenes*, 1625, later translated into English by Major Wright under title of *Nature's Paradox*, 1652. In the play, as in the romance, Sigismund is king of Poland (Polonia), and the Palatine Iphigenes, really a woman, has been brought up from birth as a boy because of her father's antipathy to rearing another girl. Almerin corresponds to Liante in the romance, who in woman's guise there has the name Almeria. What are actual disguisings in the romance for definite purpose, are merely mentioned as pastimes in the drama, which has generally a much more tragic tone. In the first act, Iphigene, still in male character, says to Almerin in prison: —

"O Almerin! would we had never known
The ruffle of the world! but were again
By Stolden banks in happy solitude;
When thou and I, shepherd and shepherdess
So oft by turns, as often still have wish'd,
That we as easily could have chang'd our sex,
As clothes. But alas! all those innocent joys,
Like glorious mornings, are retir'd into
Dark sullen clouds, before we knew to value
What we had."

When Iphigene on her death-bed, after the truth has been made known, pleads to know if Almerin has loved her, he replies: —

"Canst thou doubt that,
That hast so often seen me ecstasied
When thou wert dress'd like woman,
Unwilling ever to believe thee man?"

The combat scene between Almerin and Brennoralt in the last act is particularly in the romance vein. They converse in poetic language, and in the midst of their struggle pause to kiss once more the lips of their dead ladies. Thus refreshed, they turn to fight again.

The Queene of Arragon, a "tragi-comedie" by William Habington,[1] was printed in 1640. "Which play," says Wood in *Athenæ Oxonienses*,[2] "he communicating to Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chamberlain of the household to K. Charles I, he caused it to be acted at court, and afterwards to be publish'd against the author's will." The main plot of this, though not of the usual long-drawn-out variety, has a thoroughly heroic tone. Decastro, General of Arragon; Florentio, General of Castile; and the king of Castile — who fights disguised as a common soldier — are contending for the love of the queen of Arragon. Armies are there to support the various claims, and the suitors fairly overwhelm the lady with dignified but extravagant praises and contend in polite condescension to each other. The queen insists on a refined type of pure, unselfish love. The author in his prologue disclaims any romance motive, thus testifying to the vogue of the time: —

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[1] Habington's contributions to the literature of Platonism have been discussed, *supra*, chap. vii.

[2] Ed. Bliss, iii. 224.

"The language too is easy, such as fell
Unstudied from his pen: not like a spell
Big with mysterious words, such as enchant
The half-witted, and confound the ignorant.
Then what must needs afflict the amorist,
No virgin here in breeches casts a mist
Before her lover's eyes: no ladies tell
How their blood boils, how high their veins do swell."

Glapthorne's *The Ladies' Privilege* is another play with romantic motives, printed in the same year, 1640. It bears the inscription, "As it was acted with good allowance at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, and before their Majesties at White-Hall twice. By their Majesties Servants." This play is an absurdly romantic tangle of love and friendship. Of two sisters loved by two friends, one, Chrisea, pretends to love the other's suitor, and enjoins upon her own admirer, Doria, the task of winning for her his friend's affection. After a close approach to a duel, this latter sacrifices love to friendship, only involving his friend in single combat on the charge of desertion. Doria is supposed to kill his opponent in this duel and is himself condemned to death unless some virgin agrees to marry him. His page in disguise volunteers, and at that juncture Chrisea appears and explains everything. Throughout the action there is much gallant talk of love and honor. In the second act occurs the fling at French acting, already noted. Adorni, returned from the wars, is asked, "What think you of the French?" Then occurs this brief dialogue with Bonivet.

> "*Ador.* — Very ayry people, who participate
> More fire than earth; yet generally good,
> And nobly disposition'd, something inclining
> To overweening fancy. — This lady
> Tells my remembrance of a Comick scene
> I once saw in their Theatre.
> *Bon.* — Add it to
> Your former courtesies, and expresse it.
> *Ador.* — Your entreaty
> Is a command, if this grave Lady please,
> To act the Lady I must court."

Adorni then "acts furiously," much to the delight of the spectators.

Two more romance translations belong here. One is entered on the *Register* for November 13, 1639, as "a Booke called The History of Annaxander and Orazia, an Indian story, translated out of French into English by William Duncomb." [1] Another translation of this, by W. G. Esq., was printed in 1657. In 1640 was printed an English rendering of the *Romant of Romants*, which was Le Sieur Verdier's version of the *Amadis*. This was another translation prompted from near the English throne, this time by Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.

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[1] By Boisrobert. *Infra*, p. 397, note.

In William Cartwright's *The Lady-Errant*, written prior to 1643 and printed in 1651, there is a romantic element in the wooing of the Princess Lucasia by the hostile prince Charistus, who is at the same time the devoted friend of Olyndus, suitor of Lucasia's friend Eumela. A misunderstanding between the men results in a single combat, and when both men are down, they talk it over and make up again. The first act of the play contains two valuable references, one to the popularity of romances, the other to the pastoral vogue in particular. In the second scene, the courtier Iringus says to the ladies: —

"You shall make Verses to me ere I've done;
Call me your Cælius, your Corinnus, and
Make me the Man o' th' Book in some Romance,
And after all I will not yield."

In the fourth scene Eumela says: —

"Alas!
These are the things, that some poor wretched Lover
Unpittied by his scornful Shepherdesse
Would wish for, after he had look'd up
Unto the Heavens, and call'd her Cruell thrice,
And vow'd to dye."

These allusions to the emotional extravagance of the current romances are paralleled in two poems in Cowley's *Mistress*, written a number of years before its publication in 1647. In his poem "Impossibilities," he says:—

"'Twould grieve me much to find some bold Romance,
That should two kind Examples shew,
Which before us in Wonders did advance;
Not, that I thought that Story true,
But none should Fancy more, than I would do."[1]

In "The Innocent Ill" occur the lines:—

"Though savage, and rock-hearted those
Appear, that weep not ev'n Romances Woes."[2]

A distinct departure from the romance tradition, but perhaps also under French influence, was Denham's *Sophy*, a Senecan tragedy in blank verse, printed in 1642. This type of tragedy was frequently on the boards in France; and, with its Oriental plot, the *Sophy* looks remarkably like the productions of Corneille.[3]

In the same year there was an original contribution to the vogue of romances in England, in the shape of the poetical romance *Leoline and Sydanis*, by Francis Kinaston. The full title, as given in the *Censura Literaria*, is: "Leoline and Sydanis. An heroick Romance of the Adventures of amorous Princes: together with sundry affectionate addresses to his Mistresse under the name of Cynthia. By Sir F. K."[1] Wood says of it[2]: "This romance contains much of the fabulous history of Mona, Wales, and Ireland, and (bating that it is now and then a little obscene) is poetical enough." Kinaston himself was an accomplished gentleman, made Esquire of the body of Charles I. He was the first regent of the college or academy called *Museum Minervæ,* founded 1635 "pro institutione juvenum nobilium in artibus liberalibus."

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[1] Cowley, *Wks.*, ed. London, 1710, i. 150.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[3] Edmund Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope*, p. 85, notes this resemblance, but does not see how Denham can have known of these French productions. Yet the popularity of the *Cid* in England dates from 1637 (*supra*, p. 376), and even then Corneille was probably not a stranger to the English stage (*supra*, p. 373).

Three plays palpably founded on heroic material were printed late, but in all probability had a date of composition earlier than 1642. One of these, Davenant's *Love and Honour,* was printed in 1649. The plot is full of the features of romance; so full, in fact, that nothing but a detailed summary will make them clear. The Duke of Savoy has vowed vengeance on the Duke of Millain's nearest of kin, because Millain is supposed to have put Savoy's brother to death. Millain's daughter Evandra is captured in war by Prospero, a captain who afterward falls in love with her. Alvaro, Prince of Savoy, already her lover, attempts to keep her from his father's wrath. Leonell, Prince of Parma, her home lover, whom Prospero defeated in capturing her, joins the other two in a plot to keep her from the Duke. Leonell's sister is in hiding with Evandra. They learn of the plot, and each independently escapes and presents herself to the Duke, with the purpose of saving the young men. While he is about to refer to an oracle the question as to which is the real Evandra, the young men are involved in various duels upon the discovery of their loss. Finally both girls are ordered executed, and on the day appointed Millain and Savoy's long-lost brothers turn up as ambassadors. Leonell then makes known that he is the real heir to the throne; his sister, that Prince Alvaro had previously promised love to her. Evandra takes Leonell, and all apparently are happy.

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[1] ii. 333.

[2] *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. cit., iii. 38. Wood gives 1646 as the date of publication, while Ellis, *Specimens*, iii. 265, quotes an edition of 1641.

Leonard Willan's *Astrœa, or True Love's Mirror* was printed in 1651. It is essentially a masque, and practically worthless from a dramatic point of view; but is valuable for this study, as it is merely an attempt to weave into a connected drama certain episodes from the *Astrée.* So much condensation is necessary, and the episodes are combined with so little skill, that they appear positively absurd in their new setting, and one must be familiar with the romance to understand anything of the play. Six pairs of lovers, echoes of the romance, are involved in the complicated plot. Even the conventional love-letters are brought in from the romance, and the lengthy conversations are filled with quibbles on the mysteries of love. Prefixed to the play is an elaborate description of stage-setting after the manner of the masque; and the final stage-direction is: "Whereat the

Theater is opened, and both Companies uniting themselves, spend the rest of the Night in their accustomed Dances." The author dedicates his play to Mary, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, and explains at great length how she may find her own portrait in the character Astræa.

Richard Brome's *The Love-Sick Court, or the Ambitious Politique*, printed 1658, is built on romantic material, with the motive of political ambition. The king, urged by his people to select a successor, must choose between the soldier-statesman Stratocles and the more youthful Philargus and Philocles, both supposed sons of a dead general. He decides to take that one of the two youths whom his daughter Eudina chooses to marry. All three contestants are her suitors, the two brothers being also very devoted to each other. Eudina cannot decide between the youths, and they strive to outdo each other in self-sacrifice. Stratocles by forged letters forces them to fight, but they discover the plot and he is arrested. Poison given Philargus by the servant of Philocles proves only a sleeping potion. While Philargus is thought dead, an old nurse reveals that Philocles is really the king's son, and the supposed dead man comes back to life to marry Eudina. So is fulfilled the usual mysterious oracle. The pair of friendly lovers echoes Lidian and Clarangeus, the lovers of Dorinda in *Lysander and Calista* — already used in Fletcher and Massinger's *Lover's Progress*.[1]

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[1] *Supra*, p. 368.

With the closing of the theaters in 1642, the process that has been chiefly under consideration came to an end. There was no longer any open market for pastoral or heroic material gathered from romance sources and thrown into dramatic form; and dramatic production ceased just at the threshold of what might have been an earlier development of the heroic play. Troubled times were at hand for all the following of the court, with its French tastes and French tendencies. The day for a concerted loyalty to any particular vogue was done, but French influence along similar lines continued of course throughout the whole period of the Commonwealth. France and the royalist party were drawn closer together than ever, and most of the literary men of that party eventually found their way to the continent, there to be confirmed in the very tendencies they had previously recognized at home.

The spirit and material of the French romances had obtained such hold upon certain classes of the English people that they now began seeking eagerly for new channels of expression into which their inspiration could be turned. The result was a new type of heroic poem, even antedating similar productions among the French, and the anomalous stage performances of Davenant, which quickly developed characteristics paralleling those of the French dramas of Scudéry and Quinault. When the court party returned to England, it had only the fresh impulse drawn from immediate contact with the "heroic" literature of France, and everything was ready for the heroic play of the Restoration.

Davenant's *Gondibert,* representing this new type of heroic poem, demands first consideration; for it was begun as early as 1646, and given up, unfinished, in 1650. Most of the work upon it was done in France, and France appears to have been responsible for most that it had of novelty. It was in many respects an ordinary romantic epic of love and warfare, with a Christian coloring. There was the atmosphere of court and camp, the complicated plot with characters of noble birth and stupendous valor, the medley of open battle and splendid single combats; and through it all ran the motives of love and ambition, giving the heroic tone to the product. This heroic tone may be a natural development from the romantic epics with which the author was acquainted. But it was produced in the environment and under the strong impulse of French romance material. Under the same influence French poets were themselves shortly to develop similar products.

An innovation on which Davenant particularly prided himself adds to the probability of this French influence. At a time when the most familiar literary process in England and France was the embodiment of romance material in dramatic form, this poet, writing in France, framed his heroic narrative on the scheme of the drama, — "proportioning five books to five acts and cantos to scenes, the scenes having their number ever governed by occasion."[1] Perhaps inspired by Davenant, more probably modeled on the French attempts, there appeared, just before the Restoration, another English heroic poem, of distinctly romantic tone, — Chamberlayne's *Pharonnida.*

The English interest in romances for themselves was by no means cut off by the closing of the theaters. The rest of the period will be found full of translations of these, with the attendant certainty that more English people than ever were reading them in the original. Like the Platonizing tendency, the fondness for romances probably spread farther and farther from court circles, and cropped out sporadically wherever in England there were educated people not entirely dominated by the extreme of Puritan discipline. Englishmen abroad kept Englishmen at home informed of the latest developments in the romance genre, and obliged them with copies of each new publication. Thus even beyond the court party, and throughout England generally, this "heroic" tone, whatever its literary setting, acquired a devoted following. That Charles himself remained interested in French romances until the end is indicated by the record that on the eve of his death he presented to the Earl of Lindsey a copy of La Calprenède's *Cassandra.*[1]

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[1] Cf. Davenant's preface to Hobbes, Chalmers, *English Poets,* vi. 355. Professor Spingarn suggests the specific source of this plan of Davenant, Baro's preface to the Fourth Part of the *Astrée,* 1627 (published after D'Urfé's death). Baro says of D'Urfé that just as dramas are divided into acts and scenes, "il vouloit de mesme faire cinq volumes composez de douze livres, a fin que chasque volume fust pris pour un acte & chasque livre pour une scene."

A fresh tendency to translate the French romances began about 1647, and continued for some years with great regularity. In 1647 Gomberville's *Polexandre* was published, in a translation made for Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, by "Wm. Browne, Gent." This is often taken to be the work of William Browne the poet, though there is no evidence on the matter. The poet died before 1645, but the work may of course have been delayed in publication. Major Wright came to the front about 1650 as a translator of the work of Bishop Camus, translating — according to the title-page — "as his Recreation during his Imprisonment." *The Loving Enemie* was published in 1650, and two years later appeared *Nature's Paradox: or, The Innocent Imposter. A Pleasant Polonian History: Originally Intituled Iphigenes.* The material used in this romance had already supplied the plot of Suckling's tragedy of *Brennoralt.*[2]

The year 1652 was prolific in these translations. A second edition appeared of W. D.'s translation of Vital d'Audiguier's *Lisander and Calista.* Sir Charles Cotterel began the publication of a part of his rendering of La Calprenède's *Cassandra.* Indeed there were apparently two separate translations from this romance published in this same year. In a dedication to Charles II., dated from The Hague, June 5, 1653, Cotterel refers to the publication, while his work was in press, of a great part of this romance translated by another hand, and states that "many took upon them to affirm that the other was not likely to proceed any farther." This other may perhaps be a version by George Digby, Earl of Bristol, who is credited by Wood [1] with the translation of three books of *Cassandra*, though no date is given for the work. The Scudéry romance, *Ibrahim, ou l'Ilustre Bassa*, appeared also in 1652, in the English translation by Henry Cogan. Francis Kirkman published his rendering from the French of *The Lives and Adventures of Clerio and Logia*, and in the same year produced a translation of the Sixth Part of the *Amadis*. Kirkman became after the Restoration a flourishing publisher and bookseller, his specialty being plays and romances.

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[1] Cf. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 382.

[2] *Supra*, p. 378.

A delightful collection of evidence bearing on the fondness of contemporary English for romances in the French, as well as on current translations from these romances, is found in the *Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple*, written at intervals from 1652 to 1654. Perhaps she had an unusual fondness for such romances, as she herself implies in her confessions of the effect first produced on her by the Spanish story of *Almanzor*, and the loving recollections she still has for it.[1] Both La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* and Mlle. de Scudéry's *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* come to her eyes in the original during the period of these letters, and she is enthusiastic in her praises and eager to pass such enjoyable things along.

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[1] *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. cit., iii. 1104.

Dorothy's opinion of translations is plain-spoken enough. "I have no patience neither," she writes, "for these translations of romances. I met with Polexander and L'Illustre Bassa both so disguised that I, who am their old acquaintance, hardly know them: besides that, they were still so much French in words and phrases that 't was impossible for one that understands not French to make anything of them. If poor Prazimene be in the same dress, I would not see her for the world. She has suffered enough besides."[2] She goes on to say that she has read only four volumes of the *Prazimene* — in the original, of course — and liked those extremely well. English translations of *Polexandre* and *L'Illustre Bassa* have already been noted[3]; no translation of that time for the French *Amours de Milistrate et Prazimene* has come to light, the earliest bearing the date 1750. That there was such translation is indicated by her next sentences, where she attempts to involve the Lord of Monmouth in the responsibility. "Is it not my good Lord of Monmouth, or some such honorable personage that presents her[4] to the English ladies? I have heard many people wonder how he spends his estate. I believe he undoes himself with printing his translations. Nobody else will undergo the charge."[1] Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, had indeed withdrawn from active life in 1642, and busied himself with the translating of various works, chiefly Italian. No translation of *Prazimene* or any other French romance is elsewhere attributed to him.

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[1] Ed. Parry, London, 1888, p. 73.

[2] Ed. cit., p. 160.

[3] *Supra,* pp. 390 and 391.

[4] *I.e.* Prazimene.

As long as it was possible to render romance material into the popular dramatic forms, Englishmen apparently had little desire to occupy their time in writing romances in their own tongue. Now that the dramatic channel was closed, however, the original English romance eventually came into cultivation. In 1653 there appeared the first part of: "*Cloria and Narcissus. — A Delightfull and New Romance, Imbellished with divers Politicall Notions, and Singular Remarks of Moderne Transactions. Written by an Honourable Person.*" This evidently made a favorable impression, for it was followed by a second part in 1654, and by a third part in 1655. In the 1653 edition, the author issues the following address to the reader: —

> "It was my chance being beyond-sea, to have the perusing of some of this story, which according to my sense and understanding then, appeared not onely delightfull in the reading, but seemed to my capacity to containe in many places mysteries, belonging to the transactions of forraine parts either at present or not very long before put in execution: this gave

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[1] Ed. cit., p. 160.

my appetite, I must confesse, some such a posture as they might prove commodious to friends, as beneficial to myselfe; being also unwilling, the labour and paines should be altogether lost of this nature, since for many years past, not any one Romance, hath been written in the English tongue; when as daily from other Nations, so many of all sorts fly into the World to be seen."

As a further proof of the success of this romance came another enlargement, in 1661, with a title-page that reads: "The Princess Cloria: or the Royal Romance. In five parts, imbellished with divers political notions, and singular remarks of modern transactions. Containing the story of the most part of Europe for many years past. Written by a person of honour."

Parthenissa was published in 1654. This was the pretentious work of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, the future Earl of Orrery, — literary light, friend of poets[1] and member of the later circle of "The Matchless Orinda."[2] The force of the contemporary tendency to portraiture is revealed even in the Dedication to Lady Northumberland, in which the author declares that he would have been glad, had he had the skill, to make his Parthenissa represent her. In the case of this romance, there is fortunately a bit of contemporary criticism, however slight. It is again from the *Letters* of Dorothy Osborne.[1] "'Tis handsome language," she says; "you would know it to be writ by a person of good quality though you were not told it; but on the whole I am not very much taken with it. All the stories have too near a resemblance with those of other romances, there is nothing new or suprenant in them; the ladies are all so kind they make no sport, and I meet only with one that took me by doing a handsome thing of the kind. . . ."

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[1] Cf. *e.g.* Suckling, "Upon my Lord Brohall's Wedding," Chalmers, *English Poets*, vi. 497; "A Ballad upon a Wedding," *ibid.*, vi. 498; cf. also Cowley, "Upon Occasion of a Copy of Verses of my Lord Broghill's," *ibid.*, vii. 88.

[2] *Supra*, chap. vii.

To say that dramatic composition in the English tongue was dead at this time would hardly be correct, in view of the fact that there was printed and sold openly in London in 1654 a masque that had just done duty for the exiled court in France. This piece, which was probably a translation or adaptation from the French, was by James Howell, and bore on the title-page: "The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, consisting of a Mask and a Comedy, or the Great Royal Ball, acted lately in Paris six times, by the King in Person, the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Yorke, with divers other noble men. Also by the Princess Royall Henrietta Marie, the Princess of Conty, etc."

Of far greater significance is the attempt of Davenant, two years later, to gratify the English desire for dramatic productions. Mindful that various of the men in power were lovers of music, and among them Cromwell himself, Davenant asked and received permission to present before

[1] Ed. cit., p. 230.

the public an entertainment of declamation and music, after the manner of the ancients. Dryden, in his *Essay on Heroic Plays*, points out the significance of this proceeding: —

> "For Heroick Plays, — the first light we had of them on the English Theatre was from the late Sir William D'Avenant. It being forbidden him in the rebellious times to act tragedies and comedies, because they contained some matter of scandal to those good people, who could more easily dispossess their lawful sovereign, than endure a wanton jest, he was forced to turn his thoughts another way and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse and performed in recitative musick. The original of this musick, and of the scenes which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas; but he heightened his characters (as I may probably imagine) from the example of Corneille and some French poets."[1]

The Siege of Rhodes, one of Davenant's first productions, fits most accurately into this transition place that Dryden describes. It had a typical heroic plot with the usual elements of love and valor. The lines were in verse, and, in the first version, were delivered as recitative music. There was a considerable amount of scenery; and the part of Ianthe was played by a woman, Mrs. Coleman. Dryden's opinion on the source of Davenant's inspiration seems scarcely strong enough.[1] This performance was opera, and the origin of the form was in Italy. But opera in France was at this time being cultivated by the same people who were concerned with dramas of the heroic type and with romances in general; and Davenant's long sojourn on French soil must have familiarized him with such performances there and impressed him with the relations of these several literary forms. He probably heightened his characters to correspond to the romantic heroism then so prominent in French literature; but more than that, he may well have obtained his immediate impulse from the French.

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[1] Dryden, *Prose Works*, ed. Malone, London, 1800, i. pt. 2, 211–212. On p. 213 Dryden adds this possible testimony to Davenant's influence on the English heroic play: "For the very next reflection which I made, was this, — that an heroick play ought to be an imitation in little of an heroick poem; and consequently that love and valour ought to be the subject of it."

Translation of French romances was going on vigorously during this period,[2] attention falling particularly on the work of Mlle. de Scudéry[3] and La Calprenède.[4] A version of *Artamène,*

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[1] Cf. the discussion by L. Charlanne, *L'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e^ siècle.*

[2] A second translation of Boisrobert's *Indian History of Anaxander and Orazia* appeared in 1657, this one by W. G., Gent.

[3] Several English translations may be noted from other works of Georges de Scudéry, in whose name the romances regularly appeared: 1655, *Manzini his most exquisite and academicall discourses* . . . . turned into French by M. de Scudéry and Englished; 1654, *Curia Politiæ or the Apologies of severall Princes;* 1654, *A Triumphant Arch, erected and consecrated to the Glory of the Feminine Sex.* It will be remembered that Scudéry's drama *Le Trompeur Puni* was in the repertoire of the French company that appeared in England in 1635 (*supra,* p. 373).

[4] Valuable testimony regarding the popularity of the French romances in England is afforded by the lists of such books on sale, as inserted by English publishers

ou le grand Cyrus, by the former, was appearing in London from 1653 to 1655, the translation being credited to F. G., Gent. La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre*, under the title, *Hymen's Prœludia, or Love's Masterpiece*, was apparently too large an undertaking for any one translator. The twelve parts are the work of four different men, and appeared as follows: —

By Robert Loveday; first and second parts,	1654
third part	1655
By John Coles; fourth and fifth parts . .	1656
sixth part	1657
seventh part	1658
By J. Webb; eighth part	1658
By John Davies; ninth to twelfth parts .	1659

Of these translators, Loveday was employed during the Commonwealth as an upper servant to Lady Clinton, and found time to master French and Italian and practice his literary bent. The first part of *Cléopâtre*, he says in 1654, "had long since looked upon the light, if I had not the sin to answer for of trusting a bookseller." Loveday fell in easily with the then prevalent vogue of letter-writing, and issued a collection of his letters in 1659, under the title *Loveday's Persuasive Secretary*. In this collection appears one letter of especial value, whether it be regarded as indicative of the author's own inclinations or of the tendency of the times. It is addressed to Mr. H., perhaps his friend James Howell.

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in the back of certain publications, notably the translations of *Artamène* and of *Cassandra*.

> "My next," he says, "is the prosecution of a former desire that you would inquire of M.[1] or any other Bookseller that is likely to inform you, if there be any new French book of an indifferent volume that is worth the translating, and not enterprised by any other; if there be, let me desire you would send it down, with Cotgrave's Dictionary of the last edition; . . . You may well think me unable for such an undertaking, but my worst successe will bestow a trebble benefit, because I shall make it serve to beguile melancholy, check idleness, and better my knowledge in the Language; for the Book I am indifferent whether it be Romance, Essay, Treatise, History or Divinity, so it be worth the rendering in our Language."[2]

Translating from the French, according to this, had become a commonplace thing which any one might undertake, either to improve a beginner's knowledge of the language, or to stock the shelves of the booksellers. The public was by this time demanding anything that was French, and the romances were retrograding to a par with minor literary forms. An excellent example of the bookseller's translator is found in John Davies, who rendered the last four parts of *Cléopâtre* into English. He had been a student at both universities, and traveled considerably in France. Returning to England in 1652, he settled down to steady work with his pen. He is credited in the *Dictionary of National Biography* with thirty-four works of translation, most of them either from or through the French.

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[1] Probably Humphrey Moseley, a prominent publisher of romances.

[2] Loveday, *Persuasive Secretary*, ed. 1659, p. 46.

Besides the four books of *Cléopâtre,* one of which he dedicated to Mrs. Katherine Philips, he extended his romance work to include Mlle. de Scudéry's *Clélie,* in 1659, and issued a translation, as early as 1654, of Sorel's satirical romance, *Le berger extravagant.*[1]

The burlesque or realistic work of Sorel was indeed late in getting into English form. The work of Davies seems to mark its first appearance; and it is probable that this was preceded by a dramatic version drawn from the romance indirectly. This was *The Extravagant Sheepherd — A Pastorall Comedie, Written in French by T. Corneille,* and Englished in 1653 by T. R. This work by Thomas Corneille was a dramatized version of Sorel's romance. Sorel's *Francion* was published in England in 1655, with this title: "*The Comical History of Francion,* wherein the variety of vices that abuse the age are satyrically limn'd in their native colours. . . . By M. de Moulines, sieur du Parc, a Lorain gentleman. Done into English by a Person of honour."

As the time of the Restoration approached, interest in the regular drama was increasing again among Englishmen at home and abroad, and the dramatic form of composition was employed wherever restrictions could be escaped. French influence began once more to operate through this channel, but this time it came in the shape of direct recourse to the French drama, instead of the working over of French romance into English plays. Davenant's innovation of 1656 promptly began to react toward regular forms; his initial productions, even, going that way in time.[1] A drama of his acted soon after the Restoration, but generally supposed to have been written in the Commonwealth period, deserves notice in this connection. It is *The Play-house to be Let*, a group of independent acts thrown together with a pretense of plan, to occupy the time of a regular performance. The first act throws some valuable light on the newly imported fashion of the travesty or burlesque,[2] and the second is a literal translation, though in amusing broken English, of Molière's *Sganarelle, ou le Cocu Imaginaire.* The third and fourth acts reproduce two of the "recitative" pieces, *The History of Sir Francis Drake*, and *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru.* In 1656 may be noted also Walter Montague's translation from the French of *The Accomplished Woman.*

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[1] He also published a group of novels translated from Scarron; three in 1657, four others in 1662, and the whole collected in 1667. *The Unexpected Choice,* after Scarron, followed in 1670.

The important translator of dramas at the close of this period was Sir William Lower, practically all of whose work was done abroad. He left England in 1655 and occupied some post in the household of the Prince of Orange, at The Hague, where he busied himself with translations. From his pen came English versions of Corneille's *Polyeucte,* in 1655; of his *Horatius,* in 1656; of Scarron's *Three Dorothies* and *Don Japhet of Armenia,* in 1657; of Quinault's *Amorous Phantasm,* in 1659, closely followed by *The Noble Ingratitude* and *The Enchanted Lovers,* by the same author. Even before these last plays were printed, the Restoration had come, and a new flood of French influence poured into England to emphasize and carry on the tendencies that had been already so prominently manifest there.

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[1] *The Siege of Rhodes* was reproduced in 1662, with a second part that was regular drama.

[2] *Infra*, p. 424 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX

MINOR LITERARY FORMS

SOCIAL conditions in France in the first half of the seventeenth century have been discussed at some length in the preceding chapters. The most important literary forms attendant upon these conditions have been noted, particular stress being placed upon those largest in scope and content, — the romance, the drama, and the heroic poem. Certain other forms, however, just as distinctly a product of that society, and just as certainly transported into England with the cult of that society, require attention at this point, to round out the story of French influence in English literature prior to the Restoration. Like the drama and romance, these also are transition forms, in that their popularity among Englishmen continued for some time after the return of the Stuart Court from its French exile. The particular types to be discussed are *vers de société* or occasional poetry, attended by a somewhat reactionary fondness for a mocking, bacchic, even pornographic verse product; formal burlesque, whether in the shape of travesty or mock-heroic; and letter-writing. In addition, reference must be made to the modernizing theory of translation and the new attitude toward the ancients.

For the first of these forms, much of the story has already been told. In the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* and the later coteries modeled upon it, wits were constantly being taxed in the composition of impromptu verses; as a chance occurrence, an attractive bit of finery, a turn of conversation, or mere impulse prompted. Madrigals, more formal sonnets, epigrams, rondeaux, breathing refined gallantry and amorous compliment, and having a delicate structural finish, were almost as common as the vogue of conversation from which they took their inspiration. The Italian fondness for "*pointes*" was still the essential feature of these compositions, but — partly through the influence of Malherbe — clearness and simplicity of form were supplanting the earlier complications of thought and expression, whether in the studied completeness of Malherbe's disciple Maynard, or in the ephemeral impromptus of Voiture. Above all, these verses at their best were distinctly of and for the moment, losing their significance when removed from their first surroundings, and yielding up their charm when included in collections. This fact made detailed imitation a lifeless undertaking, and now renders hopeless a study of influences except in the mass.

Practically as soon as there were Platonics ✓ there were anti-Platonics; likewise, as early as the verses of polite and formal compliment —

perhaps earlier — there have been poets who saw and sang things as they were, with no great regard for the proprieties. There were plenty of men writing such verses in France when Madame de Rambouillet began gathering her friends about her at the beginning of the century; and the refined poetic flattery that grew up anew with this circle only gave these versemakers a new point of attack, and dignified them by the privilege of contrast. Soon there appeared compromise figures, men whose genius or station brought them well to the threshold of polite circles, even of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* itself, but whose tastes and innate virility found expression in more realistic form. Thus appeared Théophile de Viau, blamed — and not without cause — for the publication of the decidedly indecent *Parnasse satyrique*, in 1622,[1] the second edition of which, the year following, definitely bore his name. Saint-Amant, the "Calpurnius" of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, and a member of the Academy, apparently found his real joy amid a group of boon companions, where, with cup in hand, he might improvise lusty verses scoffing at fidelity in love and toasting the bacchic joys of revelry and gormandizing.[1] In the most select circles all was not pure unfleshly devotion or the celebration of it. Scandal was not uncommon or uncalled-for during this period, side by side with the utmost delicacy of conception and expression. In Voiture, "*l'enfant terrible*" of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet,* this combination of things is well displayed. His butterfly existence, with its careless flitting from amour to amour, did not deprive him of the warm regard of his companions, in whose minds his caprices were constantly being condoned, because of his sparkling cleverness, infinite tact, cordial gallantry, and genuine sympathy.

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[1] M. Alleaume, in the notice prefixed to the *Œuvres* of Théophile, Bibl. Elzév. ed., pp. xxxii and xxxiii, gives a list of pornographic verse collections in France about this time: 1609, *Le Nouveau Parnasse* (inoffensive); 1609, *Les Muses gaillardes;* 1618, *Le Cabinet satyrique;* 1620, *Les Delices;* 1620, *La Quintessence satyrique;* 1622, *Parnasse satyrique;* 1623, *ibid.*, 2nd ed. He notes that the *Parnasse satyrique*, attributed to Théophile, was really a working over of the two preceding collections in the list, with some additions.

That the poets of England, under the influences emanating from the court of Henrietta Maria, but removed from the immediate impulse of active social coteries, did their best to imitate these various types of verse, is amply borne out by divers sorts of evidence. As in other literary forms, this movement was in great part a rejuvenation. The vogue of the sonnet and of Platonizing verse in general had not entirely vanished; the complex conceptions of metaphysical poetry were kept alive by recurring inspirations from the Italian; and gross and scoffing verses, with a lineage centuries old and an endless series of fresh impulses, were being zealously cultivated. Into the midst of these conditions, and reacting somewhat against the life that prevailed under James, came the gayety and gallant worldliness encouraged by the court of Charles, and already seen to have produced new lines of literary activity in England. Soon there arose a group of men recognized as court lyrists, and bending all their energies to gratify the tastes newly imported from abroad. In the work of this group were manifest all the types of occasional verse then familiarly known to French society, from artificial compliment to bitter mockery, from laboriously polished *pointe* to careless trifle. As has been seen,[1] Platonic love provided a convenient subject for many of these compositions. The occasional element is everywhere obvious. Of course it does not necessarily follow that every English poet who celebrated a rose in Celia's bosom had in mind a particular rose, or for that matter a particular bosom; but a series of titles drawn from the work of any one of half a dozen poets would show at once that, either in reality or by pretext, these English lyric artists were resting their reputation on the uncertain foundation of occasional verse.

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[1] Cf. the letter cited by Livet, in the Introduction of Saint-Amant's *Œuvres,* Bibl. Elzév. ed., p. xiii.

Thomas Carew, whom the more careless Suckling had satirized in *The Session of the Poets*, because of the labored polish of his verses,[2] displays poems on: "My Mistress, Sitting by a River's Side," "Celia Bleeding — To the surgeon," "A Fly that flew into my Mistress's Eye," "The sight of a gentlewoman's face in the water," "A Damask Rose Sticking upon a Lady's Breast," "The Tooth-ach Cured by a Kiss." The lyrics of Waller, who seems by the serious preparation and concise smoothness of his verses to transport the ideals of Malherbe into England, are fairly steeped in the minutiæ of gallantry. He writes verses to Lady Carlisle and his Sacharissa, celebrates "the Lady who can sleep when she pleases," a girdle, a fall, "a Fair Lady playing with a Snake," and "a Tree cut in Paper"; and offers at least one little poem with a French title, "*A la Malade.*" His epigrams show many subjects of the same kind. One of these is noted as "translated out of the Spanish," another as "out of the French." It was Waller, as we may remember, who, in his verses to Sacharissa, professed to look to the poet's immortality for consolation, even though his lady should not respond.[1] Yet it was Waller who gave for England the most definite statement of the occasional poet's ideal. In his poem on "English Verse," he says: —

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[1] *Supra*, chap. vii.

[2] "Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault
That would not well stand with a laureate;
His Muse was hard bound, and th' issue of 's brain
Was seldom brought forth but with trouble and pain."

"This was the generous poet's scope;
And all an English pen can hope,
To make the fair approve his flame,
That can so far extend their fame.

Verse, thus designed, has no ill fate
If it arrive but at the date

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[1] *Supra,* p. 347.

> Of fading beauty, if it prove
> But as long-lived as present love."[1]

John Suckling, clever, careless, and bold, seems to have emulated Voiture, with a decided leaning toward the work of Saint-Amant and Théophile. His seriously gallant verses, though frequent, are outnumbered by his mocking ones, with their strong anti-Platonic tone. In serious vein he writes "Upon the Black Spots worn by my Lady D. E.," "Upon the First Sight of my Lady Seimour," "Upon L. M. weeping," "To my Lady E. C.—At her going out of England." Boldly suggestive are his "Dream" and his verse dialogue "Upon my Lady Carlile's Walking in Hampton Court Garden"; and there is a group of "anti-Platonics" of a milder sort. His works include the translation of a little French poem of five stanzas, and the more than questionable "Proffered Love Rejected," which appears in another form among the poems of Cotton, and is there called an "Epigramme de Monsieur Des-portes."[2] The fashion of impromptu verse-making, even among tavern revelers like Saint-Amant's boon companions, receives considerable confirmation from a scene in Suckling's *Tragedy of Brennoralt*, acted before 1642. It is the second scene of the second act, where Grainevert, Stratheman, Villanor, and Marinel, "cavaliers and officers" of the king of Poland, are represented as drinking together, and composing verse toasts as they carouse. One toast is addressed to a mistress; another is "a camp-health, an a-la-mode one," and praises a rose in ornate verse beginning —

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[1] Chalmers, *English Poets*, viii. 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, vi. 504, 722.

> "Bright star of the lower orb, twinkling inviter."

A third toast has for its subject a box on the ear, given by a lady.

Alexander Brome has a few seriously gallant verses, but goes even farther than Suckling in his mockery, his favorite topic being the praise of drink. Two songs are avowedly "translated out of French," and the opening stanza of one of these will suffice to indicate the spirit and manner he is fond of.

> "Now I'm resolv'd to love no more,
> But sleep by Night, and drink by day:
> Your coyness, Cloris, pray give o'er,
> And turn your tempting eyes away.
> From Ladies I'll withdraw my heart
> And fix it only on the Quart."[1]

There still remain a few names representing more or less definitely this French influence. The translations of Thomas Stanley were often based on French originals. William Cartwright was the author of many occasional verses; William Habington's *Castara* poetry, old-fashioned and serious in its Platonizing, may have drawn numerous impulses from the vogue, despite his severe treatment of contemporary French verse, in his preface; Cowley's love poems, whatever the model for their form, were probably written to conform to fashion; and Cotton, whose work continued well into the Restoration period, frequently acknowledges indebtedness to a French original. Even the verse collection, of a miscellaneous and questionable character, had its successors in England. James Smith and John Mennes, scholars and authors of the second rate, published in 1640 their *Wits Recreations*, a mass of epigrams, epitaphs, and fantastic poems, of all sorts and from all sources. This they followed in 1655 with the *Musarum Deliciæ*, and in 1658 with *Wit Restored, in several select Poems*. The title of the second of these publications is significant.[1] The second and third give less attention to epigrams and epitaphs, and contain many longer poems. There are numerous occasional pieces in these collections, a few of them being gallant; but a large place is made for the coarse and indecent. As both the compilers were well-read men who had traveled considerably, there is much reason to believe that they had in mind the French collections of pornographic verse already mentioned.

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[1] *Works*, 2d ed., London, 1664, p. 41.

There is little further in the way of detailed evidence for this vogue of *vers de société* and its attendant forms. It is scarcely a matter to be established by detail. There was probably little actual copying of individual pieces, because the French product, when published at all, usually came to light late, sometimes after the death of the author. A few bits of translation have been noted; one or two more may be. An early specimen is culled by Mr. A. H. Bullen [1] from John Attye's *First Book of Airs*, published in 1622. This is the song, "On a time the amoureuse Silvy," translated from the French musician, Pierre Guedron. Saint-Amant's famous sonnet,

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 405, note.

> "Assis sur un fagot, une pipe a la main,"

is said to have been the model for a sonnet on Tobacco by Sir Robert Aytoun, although this sonnet did not appear among his works published in 1771.[2] In the work of Sir Edward Sherburne appears "The metamorphoses of Lyrian and Sylvia," which he translated from Saint-Amant.[3] Cotton's works abound in translations from the French, but most of these represent the period after the Restoration.

It should be noted again that several of the typical French poets of this period actually visited English soil, although they seem to have formed so few acquaintances and to have carried away such wretched impressions that there is little significance in their presence. Théophile de Viau spent some time in England when exiled from home because of his daring satires. Boisrobert accompanied Monsieur and Madame de Chevreuse when they attended the marriage ceremonies of Henrietta Maria. Saint-Amant was in England twice: first in 1631, at which time he wrote a poem celebrating the excellence of Charles and his queen; and again in 1644, when the Comte d'Harcourt went to propose the mediation of France in English affairs. Out of this second visit came the *Albion, caprice héroi-comique,* expressing the author's dissatisfaction with country and people. Voiture too is said to have made a visit to England. Yet, after all, the rational explanation of the great English vogue of verse-making at this period lies not in the imitation of individual pieces or individual authors, but in the impulse afforded by the new social conditions and their various activities.

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[1] Bullen, *Lyrics from Elizabethan Song Books*, London, 1897, p. 161.

[2] Cf. James Thomson, *Biographical and Critical Studies*, London, 1896.

[3] Chalmers, *English Poets*, vi. 613.

It is not within the scope of this study to trace minutely the growth of the burlesque genre until it became a distinct literary form, with its two varieties, the travesty and the mock-heroic. The word "burlesque," as well as the beginnings of the literary form, were brought into France from Italy.[1] At first the term was used in the vaguest possible way for that which was broadly humorous or mocking.[2] It was technically specialized only after the genre had settled into regular and recognized lines. In Boileau's *Art Poétique,* begun in 1669 and published in 1674, the burlesque in the narrower sense has its formal critical reception: —

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[1] The word was introduced from Italy by Sarasin, according to Pellisson, *Hist. de l'Académie Française,* ed. 1672, p. 108.

[2] Cf. E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française:* citations from D'Aubigné, *Vie,* p. 42; and *La Satire Ménippée,* ed. 1677, p. 334; also Ménage, *Menagiana,* ed. 1729, pp. 291–292 and p. 384; and J. L. Guez de Balzac's 29th critical dissertation.

> "Au mépris du bon sens, le burlesque effronté
> Trompa les yeux d'abord, plut par sa nouveauté:
> On ne vit plus en vers que pointes triviales:
> Le Parnasse parla le langage des halles;
> La licence a rimer alors n'eut plus de frein;
> Apollon travesti devint un Tabarin.
> Cette contagion infecta les provinces,
> Du clerc et du bourgeois passa jusques aux princes:
> Le plus mauvais plaisant eut ses approbateurs;
> Et, jusqu'à d'Assouci, tout trouva des lecteurs." [1]

In the same volume with this rather sweeping criticism appeared Boileau's own mock-heroic poem, *Le Lutrin,* with the following distinction pointed out in the preface: —

> "C'est un burlesque nouveau dont je me suis avisé en notre langue: car, au lieu que dans l'autre burlesque Didon et Enée parlaient comme des harangères et des crocheteurs, dans celui-ci une horlogère et un horloger parlent comme Didon et Enée." [2]

The burlesque and the mock-heroic, as they developed, were rather intimately connected with the *mondaine* spirit pervading France in the seventeenth century. They were poetic types erected out of the prevalent mass of coarse humor and mocking satire, by Saint-Amant, Sorel, Scarron, and finally Boileau.

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[1] Chant i, ll. 81 *sq.*
[2] *Œuvres,* ed. Amar, Paris, 1851, p. 222.

They were largely reactionary in their tone, a cleverly wrought appeal to the worldly wise and keenly critical men or women of *esprit,* who were by nature hostile to extravagance and what appeared to them bad taste; the same people, in fact, who obtained pleasure from anti-Platonic verses and other lyrics of the independent, mocking sort. Again, and almost by paradox, these productions were in line with the growing self-satisfaction among courtiers and scholars of the period; the spirit that dominated the later romances and made over the greatest characters of history to conform to existing notions of love and honor, the spirit that proclaimed liberty for the translator and prompted him to modernize his classics, the spirit that even ventured to attack the world-old supremacy of the ancients and locate them in the mere childhood of human knowledge.

The significant work of the burlesque movement in France, a resultant and likewise a point of departure, was Scarron's *Vergile travesti,* in 1648. Whatever may have been the literary inspiration of this work, it was thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of the free-spoken, convivial gatherings, fashionable and talented, that assembled daily about this brilliant invalid at his *hôtel de l'impecuniosité.* It is true that Scarron did not take Virgil seriously; but he still respected him,[1] and managed the grotesque elements of his own mocking style with a restraint that never contemplated the excesses of his imitators. The name of these imitators was legion. Almost immediately they went to work; and Virgil, Homer, Ovid, all the classic poets available, fell victims again and again to their misplaced energy.[1] The rapid, careless eight-syllable couplet, with its frequent strained and feminine rhymes, had been used in Scarron's travesty and was promptly accepted as the regular burlesque metre, so that poems came to pose as burlesques and seek popularity from that caption, when they had not a thing in common with the *Vergile* except verse form.[2] Such of the imitations as were really travesties were generally characterized by a decided lowering of tone and a corresponding increase in scurrility. Scarron himself did nothing more in the genre, his *Roman comique*, in 1651, belonging to the type of realistic romance rather than burlesque.

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[1] Cf. Scarron's letter to a father of the Church, quoted by Jusserand, Introd. to Scarron's *Comical Romance,* p. vii.

In England, as in France, there had been, through a long period of time, indefinite approaches to the burlesque manner; and as early as 1640, these seem to have embodied many of the characteristics of the genre developed later.

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[1] A list of these travesties is given by Hanns Heiss, 'Studien über die burlesque Modedichtung Frankreichs im XVII. Jahrhundert," in *Romanische Forschungen*, 1905.

[2] Cf. the statements of Pellisson, *Histoire de l'Acad. Franç.*, ed. 1672, p. 108, where he mentions the publication in 1649 of *La Passion de nostre Seigneur, en vers Burlesques*. These statements are quoted in Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, 1693.

In the *Musarum Deliciæ,* compiled by John Mennes and James Smith and published in 1655, there is a series of letters in burlesque tone, with titles as follows: —

> To Parson Weeks. An Invitation to London.
> To a friend upon a journey to Epsam Well.
> To a friend upon his Marriage.
> In answer to certaine Letters.
> The Answer.

The last of these bears the date January 10, 1640. In *Wit Restored,* compiled by the same editors and published in 1658, there is another group of letters of the same sort, this time represented as written by Smith to Mennes, when the latter was in command of a troop of horse in the North against the Scots. A number of these letters bear dates, such as: December, 1640; December 24; December, 1640; January, 1640–1. These letters all assume the regular burlesque point of view, abound in all sorts of coarse colloquialisms, and have extravagantly strained rhymes, frequently feminine. Indeed, they are all written in eight-syllable rhymed couplets, so that the chief thing lacking is the element of travesty. As elsewhere noted,[1] Smith and Mennes were men of rather wide experience, so that the place where they found the notion of this verse with its various characteristics would be hard to determine. Of course the spirit of the letters had in it little of novelty, and there is a possibility that, without spcific suggestion, the eight-syllable couplet may have presented itself to them as a natural and convenient vehicle for such material. This same couplet was employed freely in the coarse satires of John Cleveland, later a close friend of Samuel Butler.

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[1] *Supra,* p. 411.

A statement in Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* next demands attention. In his discussion of John Denham he says: —

> "In 1652 or thereabouts, he returned into England, and being in some streights, . . . he was kindly entertain'd by the earl of Pembroke at Wilton; where, and sometimes at London, he continued with that count more than a year: In which time he did translate one of Vergil's Æneids and burlesqu'd it, but whether he ever publish'd it, I know not."[1]

If this statement is correct, Denham occupies an early place in the history of the burlesque in England. His published work in translation, however, can in no way be regarded as burlesque, and he expresses himself so strongly regarding the burlesque fashion in France and Italy, that there is a strong probability that Wood's statement is not to be relied upon. Denham's translation, *The Destruction of Troy; an Essay upon the second book of Virgil's Æneis*, published in 1656 but written a number of years earlier, was in fact worked out according to his theory of modernizing the ancient classics,[2] a theory which he explains in the preface to this work. In this preface he expresses himself briefly regarding burlesque. Discussing his own modernizing of Virgil, he says: "and if this Disguise I have put upon him (I wish I could give it a better name) fit not naturally and easily on so grave a Person, yet it may become him better than that Fools-Coat, wherein the French and Italian have of late presented him; at least, I hope, it will not make him appear deformed, by making any part enormously bigger or less than life. . . ."[1] Thus it appears how Wood may have confused Denham's "modernizing" with the vogue of real burlesque, which seems to have remained a vague thing in the minds of many men.

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[1] Ed. Bliss, iii. 824.

[2] *Infra*, p. 431 *sq.*

In the collection, *Wit Restored, in several select Poems*, already mentioned as appearing in 1658, James Smith published also his burlesque piece, "The Innovation of Penelope and Ulysses, a mock Poem." There seems to be no way of fixing the date of writing this poem. It reproduces the characteristics already noted in Smith's letters to Mennes, and adds the important element of literary travesty there wanting. This is definitely based on a classic author, the writer explicitly stating his purpose,

> "To sing this new Song, sung of old by Ovid."

It is the novelty of the undertaking for England that seems to have particularly impressed Smith and his friends. He gets a reference to this into the title itself, "The Innovation of Penelope and Ulysses"; and various of the commendatory verses prefixed to the poem in *Wit*

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[1] *Poems and Translations*, ed. London, 1709, p. 23 *sq.*

Restored take pains to call attention to the same point.

Unquestionably, despite the fact that he confused the two types of burlesque generally distinguished, the great English exponent of the form was Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras.* At a comparatively early date he took this type of poetry, then so popular across the Channel, gave it an English subject of vital importance, and exercised his own power and originality of thought upon it, until a great English poem was the result. The first part was published in 1662 with the title: *Hudibras, The First Part. Written in the time of the late Wars.* The second part appeared the year following, and the third as late as 1678. If the explanatory line quoted above is accepted as correct, the work falls largely within the scope of this study, as representing an influence, probably French, operating before the full flood of the Restoration. Since there is some question, however, concerning the time when the poem was begun,[1] it may be well to gather up what little further information there is on this point.

The conventional statement on the matter is that about 1650 Butler was in the employ of Sir Samuel Luke in Bedfordshire, and there drafted at least the first part of his poem, modeling his hero upon the personality of his employer, and drawing various details from Sir Samuel's guests. Neither Audrey nor Anthony à Wood, however, makes any mention of Sir ✓ Samuel in his account of Butler, the information noted being first suggested in an anonymous life of this author prefixed to the edition of his works in 1710. The biographer makes no statement concerning Sir Samuel Luke, as Butler's model, but merely states that when in his employ Butler "is said to have composed this loyal poem." Five years later there were published two volumes of Butler's *Posthumous Works*,—practically none of them genuine,—and in the second volume appeared a "key to Hudibras," said to have been obtained by "the learned Dr. Midgeley" from Butler's contemporary, Sir Roger L'Estrange. In this key, amid a mass of detail positively absurd, Sir Samuel Luke is named as the original of Butler's doughty hero. These are the only known sources for the statements above.

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[1] Cf. the opinion of A. Ramsey, in his edition of *Hudibras*, London, 1846, p. 16.

Since Butler's connection with Luke is rather definitely attached to the question of the time of the poem, attention may be called to a bit of possible evidence that is often quoted. In the first canto of the poem, Butler has Hudibras say of himself: —

> " 'Tis sung there is a valient Mameluke,
> In foreign land yclep'd . . .
> To whom we have been oft compar'd
> For person, parts, address and beard;
> Both equally reputed stout,
> And in the same cause both have fought:
> He oft in such attempts as these
> Came off with glory and success."[1]

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[1] Canto i. ll. 903 *sq.*

This certainly looks like an attempt by Butler to point out the original of his hero; and the easy way in which the rather rare ten-syllable couplet may be filled out by "Sir Sammy (or Sam'l) Luke" helps considerably to make the general theory plausible. Of course the best evidence of early composition should be Butler's own statement in his title; but one or two other points may be mentioned. Thus, there occur in the first part of the poem numerous descriptions of sects, conditions, and the like, which were familiar during the Commonwealth, and these Butler consistently phrases in the present tense.[1] A reference to the French in the third canto of the first part scarcely seems to suggest the devoted post-Restoration tone people sometimes profess to find in *Hudibras.*

> "And as the French we conquer'd once
> Now give us laws for pantaloons,
> The length of breeches and the gathers,
> Port-cannons, periwigs, and feathers;
> Just so the proud insulting lass
> Array'd and dighted Hudibras."[2]

Even after the Restoration, however, Butler was not so wedded to courtly ways as to condone French imitation, as appears from his poem on "Our ridiculous imitation of the French."[3]

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[1] *E.g.* ll. 192 *sq.*, descriptive of the religious sect of Hudibras; ll. 387–390, concerning Hudibras's dagger; ll. 479 *sq.*, of Ralph's religion.

[2] ll. 923 *sq.*

[3] Cf. Butler, *Genuine Poetical Remains*, ed. Thyer, London, 1827, p. 98 *sq.*

As stated, the poem *Hudibras* is, from the critic's point of view, a strange confusion of types.[1] In spirit it is mock-heroic. Characters presented to us as low, bigoted, and generally unattractive, are portrayed, together with their experiences, in an apparently exalted strain. Their speeches, especially, rise to this manner. Yet the verse is rapid and careless eight-syllable couplet, with all kinds of extravagances in its rhymes, and the lines display hosts of colloquial and vulgar expressions, often as coarse as in the extreme of burlesque. There is power and vigor throughout, but the poem shows little depth of feeling or delicacy of touch. It is hardly to be treated as resulting from society impulse; yet it represents a vogue that came from France to England in the wake of the culture migration. That the knowledge of this form as an approved French fashion was then pervading England may be inferred from the next citation.

Very soon after the Restoration, Davenant's *The Play-house to be Let*, was placed upon the stage.[2] It consisted of four independent short pieces, serving as the last four "acts," with a first act representing them to be the various attempts of those who elected to occupy the otherwise empty theater during vacation. Of these pieces two are known to have been written and offered among Davenant's musical plays during Cromwell's time. Another is a version in broken English of Molière's *Sganarelle,* and the last is a dramatic burlesque in eleven-syllable couplets, with feminine rhymes throughout, the subject being the amours of Antony and Cleopatra. The date of writing this particular part is unknown, but it may also have been composed before the Restoration. The first act, no doubt written not long before the time of presentation, provides some interesting statements concerning burlesque. The poet presenting the burlesque is in conversation with those who have the house to rent: —

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[1] Cf. Addison, in *Spectator*, no. 249.

[2] Halliwell, *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, mentions it as "first acted in 1663." Cf. the discussion of the date in Davenant's *Works*, ed. London, 1873, iv. 3.

"Poet. — Wit will not do your work alone.
You must have something of a newer stamp to make your
Coin current. Your old images of
Love and honour are esteem'd but by some
Antiquaries now. You should set up with that
Which is more new. What think you
Of romances travestie?
Player. — Explain yourself!
Poet. — The garments of our fathers you must wear
The wrong side outward, and in time it may
Become a fashion. . . .
You shall present the actions of the heroes,
Which are the chiefest themes of tragedy,
In verse burlesque.
Player, — Burlesque and travestie? These are hard words,
And may be French, but not law-French.
Take heed, sir, what you say; you may be question'd for't.
We would do nothing sir but what is legal."

There follows a conversation regarding the value of plays formally translated from the French, and all agree that the speeches in them are too long. Then: —

> "Poet. — If I agree with you in finding your
> Disease, it is some sign that I may know
> Your remedy; which is the travestie,
> I mean burlesque, or more t' explain myself,
> Would say, the mock-heroique must be it
> Which draws the pleasant hither i' th' vacation,
> Men of no malice who will pay for laughter.
> Your busy termers come to theatres,
> As to their lawyer's chambers, not for mirth,
> But, prudently, to hear advice.
> Player. — You'd take our house for poetry-burlesque?
> Poet. — I would, and introduce such folly as shall
> Make you wise; that is, shall make you rich."

It may be seen that by this time the popularity of the various burlesque types was such as to be appreciated by theater-goers. Of course the influence of the Restoration was present in this. Davenant's poet confuses the terms burlesque, travesty, and mock-heroic, as the French probably still did at this time. That he speaks of burlesquing only romances and stage-pieces is of little consequence at this point; stage production is all he has in mind.

About this same time, it would seem, Davenant wrote his descriptive poem in the burlesque manner, "The Long Vacation in London." The idea of a travesty being absent, the poem suggests the general manner of the letters of Mennes and Smith, written twenty years earlier. Of course there is a possibility that Davenant's poem too belongs to the period before the closing of the theaters. That Davenant had high regard for the work of Scarron is shown by his comedy, *The Man's the Master*, acted in 1668, which is drawn from two comedies of Scarron, *L'héritier ridicule* and *Jodelet, ou Le maître valet.*[1]

From this time in England the burlesque seems to have passed through a popularity and corresponding decadence such as it had seen in France. In 1664 Charles Cotton published what purported to be a translation of the first book of the *Vergile travesti* into English. In the process of localizing, however, he lowered the tone sadly, and may well have set a pattern for his successors in the type. The piece was reprinted in 1670, with the addition of the fourth book. There is among Cotton's works a burlesque letter, "Upon the Great Frost," addressed to John Bradshaw, Esq. It is undated and shows considerable general resemblance to the Smith-Mennes correspondence. Among other works may be noted: —

James Scudamore, — *Homer a-la-mode. A mock Poem upon the first and second Books of Homer's Iliads.* Oxon., 1664.

John Phillips, — *Maronides, or Virgil travestie, being a new paraphrase upon the fifth book of Virgil.* London, 1672.

Naso Scarronnomimus, — *Ovidius exulans; or Ovid*

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[1] Cf. C. T. M. Schmerbach, *Das Verhältniss von Davenants The Man's the master zu Scarrons Jodelet, ou le maître valet.* Halle, 1899.

travestie, a mock poem on five epistles of Ovid. London, 1673.

Cotton, — *Burlesque upon Burlesque, or the Scoffer Scoft, being some of Lucian's Dialogues, newly put into English Fustian.* London, 1675.

In this year the lowest ebb was reached, in the scurrilous *Mock Tempest* of Thomas Duffet; so that in 1683 Dryden, localizing Soame's translation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, was able, correctly enough, to apply to England all that Boileau had said against burlesque in France, and to find English illustrations as substitutes for the French ones.

In connection with this discussion of the burlesque, some further attention should be given to the conception closely related to it in spirit, — the modernizing theory of translation and the gradually developing contempt for the ancients. At the root of the whole matter seems to lie an unquestioned satisfaction with the standards of the moment. Where the time-honored classics fail to conform, they should be made over; or if too extravagant, held up for jest. If history fails to recount the amours and heart-struggles of her heroes, they must have had them anyway, and the romancer is justified in supplying such experiences. Ancients who must so constantly be made over to fit the proprieties, can hardly have deserved the praises less enlightened centuries have lavished upon them. Obviously this was not the opinion of all of France. Indeed, the list of those who emphatically thought otherwise includes the names of Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Bossuet, practically all the group of great men whose genius gave renown to the century. But this must not blind us to the fact that public taste, directed largely by individuals of inferior ability — the romancers, the makers of burlesques, the innovators generally — was in a vigorous rebellion against antiquity.[1] Barclay's *Euphormio*, 1603, and the *Fragments* of Théophile de Viau, in 1620, expressed opposition to the worship of the ancients. In 1635 Boisrobert, under the influence of Tassoni's *Pensieri Diversi*, published in 1612, embodied in his formal address before the New French Academy an attack upon the ancients on the ground that they lacked taste and delicacy.[2] Perrot d'Ablancourt, a rather zealous translator from the classics, soon became convinced of the need of modernizing these products to prevent them from offending contemporary taste.

Even before 1660 these notions had a large following in France. Besides the numerous devotees of the Scudéry romances, who must have accepted the general principle, more decided groups of disciples were found about such men as Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, with his lately acquired religious bent,[3] and the Abbé d'Aubignac in his rival academy.[4] The latter, in a letter to D'Ablancourt, written December 27, 1661, has to say of translations: "Il ne faut jamais laisser un grand autheur avec de petits défauts: quand il en a, il en faut soutenir les foiblesses, relever les chutes, épurer les bagatelles, nettoyer les taches et aller toujours au plus parfait; il faut faire ce qu'il a voulu faire, quand il ne l'a pas connu." [1]

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[1] Cf. H. Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1856, p. 49 *sq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 70 *sq.*

[3] Cf. his *Delices de l'esprit*, 1658, and his epic *Clovis* in 1657.

[4] D'Aubignac in his *Discours au Roy*, asking the privilege of establishing his academy (1656) mentions

With the other manifestations of this modern and *mondaine* spirit, the new theory of translation found its way into England, although its early adherents acknowledge no indebtedness to France for it. It appears in mild form in the 1650 edition of Howell's *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ,* in a letter dated from the Fleet Prison, March 25, 1646. This letter, addressed to Sir Paul Neale, concerns a translation from the Italian just completed by Howell. After discussing the unsatisfactory and lifeless nature of translation as compared to the original, he says: —

> "I have heard of an excess among Limners, call'd too much to the Life, which happens when one aims at Similitude more than Skill: So in version of Languages, one may be so over-punctual in words, that he may mar the matter. The greatest fidelity that can be expected in a Translator, is to keep still a-foot

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those "qui sont attachés opiniâtrement aux maximes que les anciens ont laissées dans leurs écrits, et ne veulent rien chercher au delà." His idea of the ancients is given at some length in his *Conjectures academiques sur l'Iliade,* which was not printed until 1715. Cf. Livet, *Précieux et Précieuses,* pp. 203–204.

[1] Quoted in Livet, *op. cit.,* p. 191.

and entire the true genuine sense of the Author, with the main design he drives at."[1]

Davenant's *Gondibert*, begun in 1646 in France, and given to the public in 1651, was represented by its author as a distinct reaction against the authority of the ancients; and the preface, addressed to Thomas Hobbes in 1650, is full of suggestions of this independence. Near the end of the reply by Hobbes, also written in 1650, there are these significant sentences: —

> "Having thus made way for the admission of my testimony, I give it briefly thus; I never yet saw poem, that had so much shape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expression as this of yours. And but for the clamour of the multitude, that hide their envy of the present, under a reverence of antiquity, I should say further, that it would last as long as either the Æneid, or Iliad, but for one disadvantage; . . . The languages of the Greeks and Romans (by their colonies and conquests) have put off flesh and blood, and are become immutable, which none of the modern tongues are like to be. I honour antiquity, but that which is commonly called old time, is young time. The glory of antiquity is due, not to the dead, but to the aged."[2]

Both Davenant's preface and this reply were written in Paris.

It was probably more than ten years before the appearance of *Gondibert* that Denham had made his modernizing translation of the second book of the *Æneid*, but it was 1656 before he put this into print, with the preface in which he explained his principles. This translation and preface have been already noted as perhaps confusing Anthony à Wood on the matter of burlesque.[1] Some of Denham's statements follow: —

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[1] *Familiar Letters*, ed. Jacobs, London, 1892, ii. 544.
[2] Chalmers, *English Poets*, vi. 372.

> "I conceive it is a vulgar error in Translating Poets, to affect being *Fidus Interpres;* let that care be with them who deal in matters of Fact, or matters of Faith: but whosoever aims at it in Poetry, as he attempts what is not required, so he shall never perform what he attempts; for it is not his business alone to translate Language into Language, but Poesie into Poesie; and Poesie is of so subtile a Spirit, that in the pouring out of one Language into another, it will all evaporate; and if a new Spirit be not added in Transfusion, there will remain nothing but a *Caput Mortuum,* there being certain Graces and Happinesses peculiar to every Language, which gives life and energy to the words; . . . And as Speech is the apparel of our Thoughts, so are there certain Garbs and Modes of speaking, which vary with the Times; the fashion of our Clothes being not more subject to alteration than that of our Speech; . . . and therefore if Virgil must needs speak English, it were fit he should speak not only as a Man of this Nation, but as Man of this Age; and if this Disguise I have put upon him (I wish I could give it a better name) fit not naturally and easily on so Grave a Person, yet it may become him better than that Fools-Coat, wherein the French and Italians have of late presented him."[2]

Although Denham was not an English courtier poet in the strict sense, it will be recalled that his tragedy *Sophy*, in 1642, gives evidence of Corneille's influence.[1] Some critics have suggested that *Cooper's Hill* has many things in common with Maynard's *Alcippe*,[2] and it may be added that Denham's verse, like that of Waller, shows the French reaction toward conciseness and lucidity.

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[1] *Supra,* p. 418 *sq.*

[2] Denham, *Poems and Translations,* ed. London, 1709, p. 23.

In the same year with Denham's preface, appeared Cowley's, to his *Pindaric Odes*, then first published. In this he says: —

> "We must consider in Pindar the great Difference of Time betwixt his Age and ours, which changes as in Pictures, at least the Colours of Poetry; the no less Difference betwixt the Religions and Customs of our Countries, and a thousand Particularities of Places, Persons, and Manners, which do but confusedly appear to our Eyes at so great a Distance. And lastly (which were enough alone for my purpose) we must consider that our Ears are Strangers to the Musick of his Numbers. . . . And when we have considered all this, we must needs confess, that after all these Losses sustained by Pindar, all we can add to him by our Wit or Invention (not deserting still his Subject) is not like to make him a Richer Man than he was in his own Country. This is in some measure to be apply'd to all translations; and the not observing of it, is the Cause that all which ever I yet saw are so much inferior to their Originals. The like happens too in Pictures from the same Root of exact Imitation; which being a vile and unworthy kind of Servitude, is incapable of producing anything good or noble. I have seen Originals both in Painting and Poesie, much more beautiful than their natural Objects; but I never saw a Copy better than the Original, which indeed cannot be otherwise; for Men resolving

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[1] Cf. p. 383.

[2] Cf. Edmund Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope*, p. 102.

in no case to shoot beyond the Mark, it is a thousand to one if they shoot not short of it. It does not at all trouble me that the Grammarians perhaps will not suffer this libertine way of rendring foreign Authors, to be called Translation; for I am not so much enamour'd of the Name Translator, as not to wish rather to be Something Better, tho' it want yet a Name."[1]

Chiabrera, Cowley's Italian predecessor in the Pindaric, had recognized the differences between the spirit of his original and that of his own Italy, but his aim was rather to celebrate contemporary affairs by lifting them to the heights of Pindar. Some close resemblances may be noted between Cowley's discussion and that of Denham, resemblances which may have called out Bishop Sprat's defense of Cowley's priority in the matter. In the *Life of Cowley*, first published in 1668, Sprat says: —

> "This way of leaving Verbal Translations, and chiefly regarding the Sense and Genius of the Author, was scarce heard of in England, before this present Age. I will not presume to say, that Mr. Cowley was the absolute Inventor of it. Nay, I know that others had the good luck to recommend it first in Print. Yet I appeal to you, Sir, whether he did not conceive it, and discourse of it, and practice it as soon as any man."[2]

From this point the modernizing spirit continued to grow, following the lines of its development in France. Passing through the period of the Restoration, it received fresh impulses from across the Channel, and reached its greatest triumph in the vogue of the heroic plays and in the English controversy of the Ancients and Moderns, which followed close upon the similar discussion in France. Indeed there was much of this spirit even in the Restoration fancy for modernizing Shakespeare and his contemporaries to suit the refined tastes of a later age.

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[1] Cowley, *Works*, ed. 1710, i. 183–184.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

One important literary fashion is left for discussion, that of Letter-Writing. In its beginning this was a classic practice, in which men wrote to real friends with a depth of thought and finish of rhetoric that contemplated publicity; in its Renaissance period, a Humanistic following of Cicero or Seneca, in which polish of style was the first requisite, and the letters, addressed perfunctorily to acquaintances or exalted superiors, were composed primarily with the view of publication after the author's death or even during his lifetime. In the sixteenth century, vernacular tongues replaced the Latin. A group of Italians, among them Aretino, sought polish of style in emulation of Cicero; while the Spanish, led by Guevara, strove after the deeper content they professed to find in Seneca. Montaigne in France was urged to put the material of his *Essais* into epistolary form, but declined.[1] Pasquier took up the form, and his letters, dealing chiefly with important happenings of the day, appeared from 1586 to 1615. He objected to the Italian letters then current as too courtly and fulsome in flattery, as well as empty of content. In his wake came Balzac, Voiture, and the other literary correspondents of the coteries, and with them the Italian tradition was restored to popularity.[1]

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[1] *Essais*, bk. i, essay 39.

So long a paragraph of introduction seems justified in this instance, by the fact that so many of these lines of activity exercised an influence upon England. Cicero's letters, known in the original by English Humanists, were translated at least as early as 1620; and Seneca's by 1639. Guevara's epistles were translated by Edward Hellowes in 1574, and the year after appeared Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles, gathered as well out of the Remaynder of Antonio de Geuvara's Works as other authors Latin, French, and Italian.* Aretino and Pasquier were both very generally known; but with the knowledge of Balzac and Voiture arose a vogue which rapidly crowded all the others into the background.

Letter-writing was a favorite literary amusement in the circles of the *précieuses.* There was a public upon which no delicacy of compliment or beauty of phrase would be lost, — a public that would constantly demand the best one had to give. Printing was a matter of no consequence under such conditions, and the letters were real enough in occasion and addressed to actual friends. The term "familiar," so empty of significance among the Humanists, could there be revitalized. Amid this society Balzac and Voiture, essentially different as they were, stood side by side as the leaders in correspondence. Just as Balzac's temperament kept him for a long time aloof from the gayety of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, so his literary style avoided entirely the light badinage of society. The letters are seldom to ladies, usually to persons in high station, and are obviously conscious of an audience. The line of thought tends toward the serious and philosophical; the rhetoric is polished, with an abundance of lavish but stately compliment. Voiture's letters, while contemplating a public hearing, have always a convincing tone of cordial familiarity, whether they recount personal experience or discuss public matters from the personal point of view. There is no pompous rhetoric, but a brilliant phrasing of warm human sympathy or cleverly turned compliment. Sometimes the tone is mocking, but never offensive. There is much plausibility in the frequently repeated distinction: "People praised Balzac; they sought to imitate Voiture."

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[1] Cf. a good general discussion in the opening pages of Georg Jürgen's dissertation, *Die Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ,* Marburg, 1901.

In England, after the decline of the Humanists, the first letter-writer with serious intent appears to have been Bishop Hall, whose *Six Decads of Epistles* appeared 1607–1610, with later editions in 1613, 1614, and 1615. These letters, apparently under the influence of Guevara, were full of moral precepts and discussions, and conferred upon their author the title of "The English Seneca."[1] The next printed collection of letters was that of James Howell, in 1645. In the meantime the influence of the French, especially of Balzac, had seized upon England. In 1634 had appeared *The Letters of Mounsier de Balzac, Translated into English, according to the last edition, By W. T*[*yrwhit*], *Esq.* In his preface, "the Translator to the Reader," Tyrwhit says: —

> "finding his stile right eloquent, and altogether unafected, his conceptions high, and the whole Booke richly adorned with great varietie of learning, appearing almost in every Page: It raised no small desire in mee to try how his way of writing would sute with our language: . . . But I was not long left in peace with this resolution, before certaine my noble friends understanding I had travailed on this subject; did importunately solicite me to put these Letters into Print, perswading me I should herein performe no unacceptable service to my Countrey, especially to such who are unacquainted with the French Language."

That this "importunate soliciting" was based on good judgment is revealed by subsequent developments. In the *Stationers' Register* for March 15, 1636–1637, are entered: —

> "The second parte of the Letters of Monsieur du Balsac written by him in French and translated into English by Sir R: B:"[2]
>
> "A supply to the second parte or the third parte of Mounseiur du Balsac Letters translated into English by the said Sir R: B:"

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[1] Jürgens, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] Sir Richard Baker.

Under date of December 15, 1638, appears: —

> "A Recuell or Collection of new Letters of Mounsieur du Balzack being the fourth parte never before published twenty of them translated out of Latyn and the rest out of French into English."

Another edition of these collected letters was printed in 1655, represented as "by Sir Richard, and others."

Before proceeding to a discussion of Howell's work, attention must be called to another sort of published letter, then prevalent in England, and perhaps having a bearing on the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*. The "handy letter-writer," with its models of correspondence for all occasions, was even then in demand. A dozen different manuals of this kind appeared in little more than half a century before Howell's letters, and several of them enjoyed a number of editions. One of these books, Angel Day's *English Secretorie*, first issued in 1586, seems to have had a long period of popularity and to have been well known by Howell.

The first part of the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ* appeared in 1645, three years after the author's incarceration in the Fleet. It bore the title: "Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ | Familiar Letters | Domestic and Forren | Divided into | Six Sections |
| Historical
Partly | Political | Upon emergent Occasions |
| Philosophicall
J. H. Esq." A more extended announcement reads: —

"These Letters, for their principall subject, contain a Relation of those Passages of State that happen'd a good part of King James His Raign, and of his Majesties now Regnant: As also of such Outlandish Occurrences that has reference to this Kingdom: Wherein ther goes along a Legend of the Authors life, and of his severall employments, with an account of his Forren Travells and Negotiations; wherin he had occasion to make his addresses to these Personages, and Persons underwritten." [1]

This announcement characterizes adequately the epistles in the collection. It is followed by some verses, "To the knowing Reader touching Familiar Letters," in which the various excellent possibilities of letters are enumerated. That Howell was not unacquainted with the history of the form is shown by these lines: —

"In Seneca's rich Letters is enshrined
Whate'er the ancient Sages left behind:
Tully makes his the secret Symptoms tell
Of those Distempers which proud Rome befel;

* * * * *

Great Antonine the Emperor did gain
More glory by his Letters than his Reign.

* * * * *

Aurelius [2] by his Letters did the same,
And they in chief immortalise his Fame."

In the third edition (1650) of the *Epistolæ*, which by this time had grown to three volumes or parts, dates were for the first time attached to the various letters. As the opening letter of the first volume there was at this time introduced an epistle to Sir J. S., with the date July 25, 1625, several years later than those of the series of letters previously beginning the volume. This letter is a discussion of letter-writing, and suggests matters of interest. The criticism of French letter-writers is especially severe: —

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[1] A list of the names follows.

[2] A reference to Guevara's *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius*, in letter form.

> "Others there are among our next transmarine Neighbors Eastward, who write in their own Language, but their Style is soft and easy, that their Letters may be said to be like Bodies of loose Flesh without Sinews, they have neither Joints of Art nor Arteries in them; they have a kind of simpering and lank hectic Expressions made up of a Bombast of Words, and finical affected Compliments only: I cannot well away with such sleazy Stuff, with such Cobweb-compositions, where there is no Strength of Matter, nothing for the Reader to carry away with him, that may enlarge the Notions of his Soul. One shall hardly find an Apothegm, Example, Simile, or anything of Philosophy, History, or solid knowledge, or as much as one new created Phrase, in a hundred of them: and to draw any Observations out of them, were as if one went about to distill Cream out of Froth; insomuch, that it may be said of them, what was said of the Echo, that she is a mere Sound and nothing else."

Then follows a particular thrust at Balzac: —

> "I return you your Balzac by this Bearer: and when I found those Letters, wherein he is so familiar with his King, so flat: and those to Richlieu, so puffed with prophane Hyperboles, and larded up and down with such gross Flatteries, with others, besides, which he sends as Urinals up and down the World to look into his Water for discovery of the crazy Condition of his Body, I forebore him further."[1]

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[1] Howell, *Familiar Letters,* ed. Jacobs, i. 18.

Rather vigorous language this from an active, somewhat hard-headed literary hack and royal factotum, who could view the heights of Balzac's finished rhetoric only from a considerable distance, and whose attempts at gallant protestations present the empty and confusing phraseology from which quotation has been made elsewhere.[1] Evidently Howell's mind was not entirely easy when he introduced this letter at the head of his list.

Elsewhere in the epistle he goes at some length into the theoretical classification of letters: "Now, Letters, tho' they be capable of any Subject, yet commonly they are either Narratory, Objurgatory, Consolatory, Monitory, or Congratulatory. . . ." This is very much in the manner of Day's introduction to his *English Secretorie*, where he classifies letters as "Hortatorie, Dehortatorie, Laudatorie, Vituperatorie, Suasorie, Petitorie, Monitorie, Accusatorie, Excusatorie, Consolatorie, Invective, and such like"; and then proceeds to state the characteristics of each class, and illustrate them by approved epistolary models.[2] But Howell gives no sign of having for a moment intended a "model letter-writer," and this theorizing is only an afterthought.

A fairly reasonable line of explanation suggests itself, but it is not exactly favorable to Howell. Being interested from youth in the art of correspondence, he probably gave particular care to composing his numerous letters, and kept copies of most of them. It is likely, indeed, that he recognized the resemblance of his matter to that of Pasquier, and modeled somewhat upon his style.[1] The "History of the French Language," which he prefixed to his edition of Cotgrave's *Dictionary* in 1650, was taken chiefly from Pasquier's *Recherches.* Upon his confinement in the Fleet, Howell turned his attention to literary hack-work. Balzac's letters must have been popular in England at that time, both in the original and in translation. Howell had a vast collection of correspondence at command. Why should he not profit by this popularity and publish these letters of his? He did so, and the venture was successful. Between 1645 and 1650, however, people must have said some unpleasant things. That they sometimes did so is clearly suggested by the comment of Wood, in 1691, that Howell's writings were "very trite and empty, stolen from other authors without acknowledgment, and fitted only to please the humours of novices."[2] Whether in this particular instance they insinuated that Howell had borrowed from Balzac and his friends, or charged that he had profited by their popularity, or instituted unpleasant comparisons between him and them, is not to be discovered. At any rate Howell vented his spleen against the

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[1] *Supra*, p. 339 *sq*. The letters in question appear in ed. cit., ii. 414–415, 534, 558.

[2] Angel Day, *English Secretorie*, ed. 1607, p. 3 *sq*.

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[1] This resemblance to Pasquier is suggested by Joseph Jacobs in his edition of Howell's *Letters,* i. lix.

[2] *Athenæ Oxon.,* ed. 1817, iii. 744.

Frenchmen and thus bore abundant testimony to England's admiration of them at this time.[1]

Howell had ardent admirers as well as severe critics. Thus in 1664, Payne Fisher, in the preface to Howell's *Poems*, says: "He teacheth a new way of Epistolizing; and that Familiar Letters may not only consist of Words and a bombast of Compliments, but that they are capable of the highest Speculations and solidest kind of Knowledge." John Evelyn, writing to Lord Spencer, in 1688, recalls the adverse statements of Wood: "James Howell published his 'Ho-Elianæ' for which he indeed was laughed at (not for his letters which acquainted us with a number of passages worthy to be known). . . ."[2]

The vogue of Balzac in England seems to have continued for some years, giving way in time before that of Voiture. There was a translation of Balzac's treatise, *The Prince*, by Henry Greisley, in 1648. Thomas Powell, who died almost immediately after the Restoration, is credited by Wood with a translation, *Recueil de novelles Lettres, or the last Letters of Monsieur de Balzac.* In 1657, as we may gather from a letter of that date in Loveday's *Letters*, it was considered a high honor to be characterized as "an English Balzac."[3]

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[1] It is interesting to note that Howell's phrase "prophane Hyperboles," for Balzac's flatteries of Richelieu, he has used elsewhere in a letter dated from Paris, April 1, 1641, referring to the poetic flatteries applied to the Cardinal.

[2] Quoted in ed. Jacobs, i.

[3] Loveday, *Letters*, 4th ed., London, 1669, pt. i. The title was not so much of a compliment in 1668; Voiture

Sir John Suckling, who died in 1640, wrote a number of letters, which seem to have been intended for circulation, but were not published for many years after his death. As in his verses, he appears to follow Voiture, with a somewhat broader tone of mockery and daring. Those letters in which he is the serious lover abound in graceful gallantry; but in many specimens he affects the mocking spirit of the anti-Platonics. The elegance and wit of the clever courtier are present everywhere. There is a mere mention of Balzac in one of the letters.[1] However popular Voiture's letters may have been about the English court, they did not get into translation until 1655, at the hands of John Davies.

An interesting product of this vogue among the courtiers is Sir Toby Matthew's collection of letters, which did not appear in print until 1660, five years after his death. It was then published with the title: "A Collection of Letters made by S^r Tobie Matthews, Kt., with a Character of the most excellent Lady, Lucy Countess of Carleile: to which are added many Letters of his own to several Persons of Honour who were contemporary with him." Some of the letters were probably from originals, others mere epistolary exercises, in emulation of the French models. Names and dates were removed, and so far did Sir Toby's desire for

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was then in vogue. Cf. Mrs. Evelyn's letter to Mr. Bohun, May 21, 1668; cited by Jürgens, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[1] Suckling, *Works*, ed. 1719, p. 83.

ingenuity and rhetorical excellence carry him, that the general effect is again that of a manual of polite correspondence, which in part it was. As has been noted,[1] the "character" that accompanies the book is not one of the usual English abstractions, but is a portrait after the manner of the French romances.

The collections of letters by Robert Loveday and Thomas Forde appear to have been modeled on Howell's collection. Loveday's book, published posthumously in 1659, indicates this even in the title: "Loveday's Letters, Domestick and Forrein, to several persons, occasionally distributed in subjects Philosophicall, Historicall, and Morall." Forde's *Familiar Letters*, published a year later, contain one epistle full of praise addressed to J. H., apparently Howell himself. Regarding a proposed correspondence between them, he says: "I am not ignorant that all kind of Learning hath been wrapped up in Letters. And I assure you, Sir, I shall, in the enjoyment of yours, think myself little less honoured than I do Lucillius by Seneca's.[2]

In many ways the most attractive English collection of the period was written without the remotest thought of publicity, and did not appear in print until very recently.[3] Dorothy Osborne, writing to Sir William Temple, to whom she was then betrothed, displays a remarkable charm of manner, grace of style, and acuteness of thought. But she too was a devotee of French literary forms, to which she makes constant reference in her letters; and may well have acquired some of her ease and sprightliness of style from a familiarity with French models. She is a worthy predecessor of Madame de Sévigné.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 351.

[2] *Familiar Letters*, ed. 1600, p. 85.

[3] *Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple* (1652–1654), ed. E. A. Parry, London, 1888.

This study cannot close without mention of the correspondence of our English coterie-leader, "the Matchless Orinda," with her favorite friend Poliarchus. The letters in the collection were written from one to four years after the Restoration, but the circle in which they were inspired was in existence some time before.[1] Mlle. de Scudéry, after whom Mrs. Phillips seems usually to have modeled, carried on an extensive correspondence with her numerous friends,[2] and it is this, perhaps, that Orinda had in mind in inaugurating her series of letters. But Mlle. de Scudéry's epistolary style is rather easy, simple, and direct, with very little attempt at lofty eloquence or lavish compliment.[3] Mrs. Phillips, however, must have conceived of such correspondence on the basis of the Scudéry romances, for it is the spirit and manner of these that is constantly giving color to her letters. Of course only a part of the letters go so far as this, and it is possible that certain of the extreme *précieuses*, both in France and England, made a practice of indulging in such correspondence. But many of the letters suggest an almost direct influence from the romances.

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[1] See chap. vii.

[2] Cf. Rathery et Boutron, *Mlle. de Scudéry, sa vie et sa correspondence.* Paris, 1873.

[3] Cf. her letters to Godeau, *op. cit.*, pp. 210–240, 249–254, 271–272.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

THE plan adopted for this study has had the effect of subordinating, often perhaps to an unfair degree, numerous unrelated details of French influence in English literature. It has likewise placed emphasis upon the progress of certain literary types or lines of activity, with little attention, thus far, to the entire significance of the French influence at various stages of its history. In apology it may be said that the plan made itself, as one line of influence or activity after another rose out of the tangle of Elizabethan literary effort, representing a vital factor in the complicated process. The fourscore years that make up the actual scope of the study are not so long a period, nor is the chronology of the writers involved so intricate, that there is any real difficulty in summing up the content of French literary influence at any point desired, or in its successive stages.

For twenty years from the accession of Elizabeth, there was little evidence of English interest in France, apart from numerous translations of the writings of John Calvin, and occasional borrowings from Marot among the makers of eclogues. Then came the community of interest and effort involving Sidney and Spenser and their little following, — a community animated in at least one of its enterprises, and perhaps in its whole conception, by the example set by the French Pléiade and its later adherents. The classic versifying of this group of English innovators was quickly allowed to decline. But the encouragement and practice of these kindred spirits were largely instrumental in furthering three literary forms in England: the French-Senecan tragedy, the sonnet, and the long religious poem. The first of these was out of place in the England of that time, and was given up with some reluctance early in the next century. It may have played its part in urging regularity of form upon the successful dramatic product. The sonnet enjoyed immense popularity in the last fifteen years of the century. Italian models exercised chief influence over this development, but in numerous cases there is positive evidence of direct impulse from French specimens and of the introduction of French peculiarities. Ronsard and Desportes were particularly well known.

Sidney and his following were emphatically Protestant. The period of their earliest endeavors was one of great significance to all of that faith, and France was for years the battleground of the religious conflict. Besides the documents related directly to the struggle, there also came from France to England the impulse to color regular literary forms with the ideals and doctrines of Protestantism. In the sonnet this vogue came to England somewhat confused with the similar tendency resulting from the Catholic Reaction; but in other forms, such as the long poem of Biblical narrative, the influence of France was direct, and on the basis of style is hardly mistakable. The effect of the *Semaines* of Du Bartas, both in French and translated, appears to have been far more significant than has been generally supposed. Both in spirit and in style, this work was in harmony with tendencies already prevalent in England, and only emphasized and exaggerated these and spread them broadcast. Various adherents of the Sidney circle in its later days were affected by this poetry. Not Spenser alone, but Spenser's disciples, felt its influence. In Scotland there was a parallel line of dependence, encouraged by King James VI., and no doubt partly effective later in producing the *Doomesday* of the Earl of Stirling. Other verse products of the seventeenth century reveal indebtedness to Du Bartas; and Donne, Quarles, and even Milton may with some safety be reckoned in his extensive following.

With the new century, the power of the *Essais* of Montaigne became manifest. Even before Florio's translation was published, Englishmen were familiar with the work. After publication, this became an abundant storehouse, readily accessible to all who sought specimens of philosophical speculation, illustrative incident, or citation of authority. Not all who drew upon it kept to the English version, as many preferred the more lucid style of the original. "Essays" were popular forms of composition in England for a number of years, largely on account of Montaigne's example, and his work furnished a model by which most of the writers worked. About the time of the Restoration, when the work of Montaigne's interpreter Pascal came into English hands, interest revived once more in the *Essais*. Indeed it is but fair to suppose that in England, as in France, they had prepared men's minds for the favorable reception of Pascal's doctrines.

Some time before 1600, Rabelais's work appears to have been known and utilized in England, not as an inspiration to further work of the same type, but rather as a model and encouragement to those drawn toward coarse realism, scurrilous invective, or crudely fantastic methods of expression. Various dramatists, including Shakespeare, seem to have found minor suggestions in the adventures of Gargantua and Pantagruel. It was Nash in the sixteenth and Taylor the Water Poet in the seventeenth century, however, to whom the spirit and methods of Rabelais appealed most, although neither man acknowledged obligation to him, and Taylor explicitly denied acquaintance with French. Rabelais, like Montaigne, did not pass out of men's knowledge toward the close of the period. Rather, acquaintance with him made English minds receptive to the new French importation of burlesque products. Not until this later time did Rabelais appear in a recognized English translation, the work of Urquhart and his successor Motteux.

As the reign of James I. drew to a close, these two, Montaigne and Rabelais, were the only significant French authors exercising appreciable influence in England. The classic tragedy, encouraged by Lady Pembroke, had disappeared; sonnets, however inspired, had lost popularity; and the following of Du Bartas and Sylvester had scattered toward obscurity. Yet French books were being widely read and some were being translated, while England followed closely the details of French political affairs, often by means of English renderings of important documents. To minds predisposed to pastoral romance, by familiarity with the *Arcadia* in particular, had come one or more translations of D'Urfé's *Astrée*, which was then being so sincerely admired at home. The new King Charles, romantic even in his wooing, brought to England, as his queen, Henrietta Maria, princess of France, young, full of spirits, and imbued with the ideals encouraged by the *Astrée* and dominant in the *Hôtel de Rambouillet.*

This marriage, as has been seen, may be held largely responsible for a group of potent literary influences which almost immediately became operative in England. The nobility of England had only to overcome an initial prejudice, to be thrown into vital contact with the life and activities of France. If against their will, they found themselves molded into a social structure modeled in some measure at least after the *précieuse* coteries of Henrietta's native land, with a premium placed on the minutiæ of gallantry, the phraseology of badinage, and the clever turns of light occasional verse. Masques and pastoral plays were promptly encouraged. The revived Platonism cultivated in the circle of Madame de Rambouillet, and distorted and exaggerated by the *femmes savantes* among her imitators, was quickly recognized by English courtiers as an essential feature of this influence. It reacted variously in different places, producing serious devotees and mocking opponents, and lent color to a considerable number of English masques and dramas. *Vers de société* was assiduously cultivated among the courtiers, much of it dealing with this Platonism from one point of view or another. Literary correspondence was attempted, based on French models. There even arose several aspiring coterie leaders in England, similar to the numerous *bourgeoise* imitators of Madame de Rambouillet.

The French romance achieved a remarkable vogue in the first half of the seventeenth century. The pastoral romance gave way to the heroic, and larger and less possible adventures were introduced into the artificial atmosphere already saturated with exaggerated sentiment. The spirit of this new type influenced both drama and narrative poem, and penetrated easily into the later circles of the *précieuses*. With equal freedom it passed into England. There the French romances were eagerly read in the original or in the frequent translations. Various plays colored with this romantic character found their way to the stage while the theaters were yet open; and were still printed and read when these were closed. Here and there, Englishmen attempted original romances in their own language. The heroic poem was attempted, even before the type was popular in France, and introduced this same spirit into the windings of epic narrative. Indeed there was little wanting in England, years before the Restoration, toward the production of the heroic drama afterward given such prominence by Dryden. The exaggerated sentiment, the exalted dignity of characters, the subordination of everything to love, the pageantry of a stage full of activity, the tendency to flights of eloquence, — all these were present and familiar enough in earlier plays. An unrestricted theater and the use of rhymed couplets appear to mark the chief distinction; and even the latter was supplied in Davenant's operatic pieces.

Other features of Restoration literature were clearly anticipated some time before the recall of the Stuarts. The burlesque and the mock-heroic, partly reactionary, partly the natural result of freedom in making over great historical events and personages, found their way into English literature soon after they began to flourish in France. The new theory of translation, which took liberties with classic literature to modernize it for the general reader, found many adherents among English writers. Indeed the whole controversy of the Ancients and

Moderns, soon to rage bitterly in both countries, was entirely prepared for in pre-Restoration England, as it was in France at the same period. Even the first steps toward English opera, and a preliminary appearance of women on the stage were ventured by Davenant under his privilege from the Commonwealth.

Thus it appears that the fourscore years involved in this study, however much their literary hegemony was Italian, were never entirely free from prominent and significant lines of French influence. In the first glow of Italian inspiration, these were the accessory impulses added in transition. Then certain great figures appeared in France, whose work appealed particularly to the English genius and was drawn upon extensively to influence English creative effort. By the time of the accession of Charles, Italian impulses had lost their effectiveness, so that the French influence brought in with the queen found little to dispute its sway in the court party, where alone literature was still cultivated with any particular zeal. The exile of the Stuarts and the leaders of this party really encouraged French domination by the actual contact afforded with life and thought across the Channel. But even before the exiles returned triumphant in 1660, the developments noted above as essentially French had already appeared on English soil as features of English literary activity.

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OF THE UNIVERSITY

APPENDIX A

TRANSLATIONS[1]

1556. Calvin, *The Catechisme or Manner to teache children the Christian religion.* Other eds. 1560, 1563, 1564 (Edin.), 1575 (Edin.), 1578, 1580, 1582, 1594.
1557. Don Anthony de Guevara, *The Diall of Princes.* Translated from the French version. (Thomas North.) Revised ed. with fourth book, *The favoured Courtier.* 1568.
(1560). Calvyn, *Sermons.*
(1560). Calvyn, *Two Sermons.*
1560 (?). Calvin, *An Admonicion against Astrology Iudiciall and other curiosities, that raigne now in the world.* (G[oddred] G[ilby].)
1560. Calvin, *Sermons upon the Songe that Ezekias made.*
1560. *The Civilitie of Childehode, with the discipline and institution of Children.* (Thos. Paynell.)
(1561). Calvyn, *Two bookes.*
(1561). Calvin, *Four Sermons.*
1561. Calvin, *Four godlye sermons agaynst the polution of idolatries, . . .*
(1562). *The perfett newes out of Fraunce.*
1562. *A Complaint of the Church, against the tiranny . . . in France . . .*

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[1] This list of French material, chiefly translations from French works or French versions, makes no claim to completeness. It grew out of the investigations detailed in the chapters, and was compiled from various sources. Such works as Arber's *Reprint of the Register of the Stationers' Company* and Hazlitt's *Handbook* and *Bibliographical Collections* formed the basis of the compilation. In many instances titles have been abbreviated, but the spelling of names has usually been left as it was found. Dates of entry and names of translators, where noted, are printed in parentheses. Unless stated otherwise, the place of publication may be assumed to be London.

1562. Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion.* (T. N.) Other ed. 1579.

1562. Theo. de Beza, *An Oration made . . . in the presence of the King . . .*

1563. *The Secretes of the Reverende Maister Alexis of Piemount.* (Wm. Warde.) Other eds. 1566, 1568, 1569.

1564. *The translation of a letter written by a Frenche Gentilwoman to another . . . upon the death of the . . . Ladye, Elenor of Roye.* (Henry Myddelmore.)

1564. Theo. de Beza, *A Discourse containing the Life and Death of John Calvin,* with Testament and Last Will and the Catalogue of his Books. (I. S.)

1565. *Ane Brief Gathering of the Halie Signes, Sacrifices, and Sacramentis institutit of God for the Creation of the worlde.* (ane Faithfull Brother.) Edinburgh.

1565. *Certayn and tru good neus, fro the syege of the Isle Malta, wyth the goodly vyctorie wyche the Christenmen . . . have obtayned agaynst the Turks.* Gaunt.

1566. Pierre Boaystuau, *Theatrum Mundi.* (John Alday.) Other eds., 1574, 1581 (1587).

(1567). *Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce,* from the French version. (Thomas Paynel.)
Second Book of *Amadis de Gaule.* (L[azarus] P[yott]), 1595.
Books 3 & 4. Dated 1618. Folio 1619. First four books (1589).
Book 5 (Francis Kirkham), 1664.
Book 6 (Francis Kirkham), 1652.
Amadis of Gaul, Bks. 2–12 (1594).

1567. Geffray Fenton, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses.* Other ed. 1579.

1569. *The Pleasaunt and wittie Plaie of the Cheastes with Instrucions to learne . . . and to plaie it wel.* (J. R.)

(1570). Calvyn, *Comentary upon the psalmes.*

1570. Antonio Corrano, *Tableau de l'Œuvre de Dieu.*

1570. *A Discourse of the Civil Wars and Late troubles in France.* (Geffray Fenton.)

(1571). *An oration pronounced before the Frynshe kynge.*

1571. *The Foreste or Collection of Histories. . . .* (Thos. Fortescue.) Other ed. 1576.

1572. *Histoire de Marie Royne d'Escosse. Touchant la conjuration faicte contre le Roy & l'adultere commis avec Comte de Boihwel, histoire vrayement tragique.* (Printed abroad; sold at Edin.)

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1572. Morgan Philippes, *L'Innocence de la Tresillustre, treschaste et debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie Royne d'Escosse . . .*

1572. "One of the Abbey of Saint Vincent in Fraunce," *A Booke of the Arte and Maner, howe to plant and graffe trees, . . . set stones and sowe Pepines . . .* (Leonard Moscall.) Other eds. 1575, 1590, 1596.

1573. King Charles IX. of France, *The Edict of the French King, for the appeasing of the troubles of his Realme.*

1574. *A forme of Christian pollicie.* (Geffray Fenton.)

1574. Eurebe Philadelphe, *Le Reveille-Matin des Francois et de leurs Voisins.* Edinburgh.

1575. *A Mervaylous discourse upon the lyfe, deedes, and behavior of Katherine de Medicis.*

1575. Prince Francis, *The Protestation of the Most High and Mightie Prince Frauncis.*

1575. *Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourse both Morall, Philosophicall and Divine.* In part from Guevara. Some from French. (Geffray Fenton.)

1575. Anth. de Guevara, *A Looking-Glass for the Court.* Original in Spanish. (Anthony Alaygre, tr. into Fr.) (Sir Francis Briant knight, tr. into Eng.)

1576. *The Lyfe of the most Godly, valeant and noble capteine . . . Jasper Colignie Shatilion, . . .* Translated out of Latin. (Arthur Golding.)

1576. Pierre de la Place, *A Treatise of the Excellencie of a Christian man, and how he may be knowen . . . .* (L. Tomson.)

1576. *The Mirrour of Madness, or a Paradoxe, maintayning Madness to be most excellent.* (James Sanford.)

(1577). Calvyn, *The Commentaries uppon the first booke of Moyses called Genesis.*

(1577). Calvyn, *The Commentaries uppon the prophet Esaie.*

The booke of the revelation of the prophet Esaie. (1608.)

(1577). John de l'Espine, *A treatise of Christian righteousness.* (John Field.)

(1577). *Ffoure straunge and lamentable Tragicall histories.* (R. Smythe.)

1577. King Henry III. of France. *The Edict or Proclamation set forthe by the Frenche king upon the pacifying of the trouble in Fraunce, . . .* (Arthur Golding.)

1577. Theo. de Beza, *A Tragedie of Abraham's Sacrifice.* (Arthur Golding.)

1577. Francis de l'Isle, *A Legendarie, Conteining an ample Discourse of the life and behaviour of Charles Cardinal of Lorraine.*

1577. Philip de Mornay, *The Defence of Death. Contayning a moste excellent discourse of life and death.* (E[dward] A[ggas].)

(1578). Calvin, *Lectures upon the Prophete Jonas.* (N. B.)

(1578). Calvin, *A Commentarie upon Josue.*

1578. *A Christian Discourse upon certaine poynts of Religion. Presented unto the most high and puissant Lorde, the Prince of Conde.* (John Brooke.)

1578. *Politique Discourses, treating of the differences and inequalities of vocations.* (Ægremont Ratcliffe.)

1578. Pierre du Ploiche, *A treatise in Englishe and French right necessarie and profitable for all young children.* (Dewes?)

1578. Remberte Dodvens, *A Newe Herball or Historie of Plantes.* Original in Dutch. Translated from French version. (Henry Lyte.)

(1579). Daniel Toussaint, *L'exercice de l'ame fidele, à scavoir, prieres et Meditations pour se consoler en toutes sortes des afflictions, . . .*

(1579). P. Viret, *Ye Lordes supper and against ye masse.*

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1638. J. P. Serres, *Alarum for Ladyes.* (Thos. Hawkins.) Paris.

1638. Don Garcia, *The Sonne of the Rogue, or the Politick Theefe . . .* (Original in Spanish. Translated from French into English by W. M.)

(1639). Boisrobert, *The History of Annaxander and Orazia.* (Wm. Duncomb.) Other ed. 1657. (W. G.)

1639. Monsieur Du Boscq, *The Compleat Woman.* (N. N.)

1639. Marie de Médicis, *A Declaration of the Queene Mother of the most Christian King. Containing the reasons of her departure out of the Low-Countreys.*

1639. John Peter Camus, *Admirable Events: Selected out of Foure Bookes.* (S[usan] du Verger.)

1639. P. de la Serre, *The Mirrour which flatters not.* (T. Cary.)

1639. Jean Puget de la Serre, *Histoire de l'Entrance de la Reyne Mere du Roy tres-Chrestien, dans la Grande-Bretaigne.*

(1640). Peter du Moulin, *The Anatomy of the Masse.* (James Mountaine.)

(1640). *The French Margarites or flowers of Eloquence.* (Ffrancis Halsey.)

(1640). Le Sieur Verdier, *Seven bookes of the Romant of Remantes.*

1640. J. P. de la Serre, *The Secretary in Fashion.* (John Massinger.) 5 editions by 1673.

1640. L'Abbé Desfontaines, *The Second Part of the Cid.* (Jos. Rutter.)

1640. Duke of Rohan, *The Complete Captain, or, An Abbridgement of Cæsar's warres* . . . (J. C[ruso].) Cambridge.

1641. Duke of Rohan, *A Treatise of the Interest of the Princes and States of Christendome.* (H. H.)

1641. Margaret of Valois, *The Memorialls of Margaret de Valoys.* (Robt. Codrington.) Another ed. 1663.

1641. Father Basil, *The Converted Capuchin, Or the Recantation of Father Basil, after he had continued nigh forty yeares a Fryer of that Order, . . .*

1642. *The Ecclesiasticall Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France.*

1644. Joh. de la Fontaine, *The pleasant Fountain of Knowledge.* (Wm. Backhouse.[1])

1644. Isaac de Caus, *Nouvelle Invention de Lever l'eau plus hault que sa source* . . .

1645. *A Brief Relation of the present Troubles in England.* (Thos. Tully.) Oxford.

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[1] According to the authority of Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* (ed. Bliss, iii. 576) he also translated *The Complaint of Nature*, and *The Golden Fleece* by Solomon Trismosin.

1645 (?). Isaac de Caus, *Hortus Penbrochianus.*
1647. M. le Roy, Sieur de Gomberville, *The History of Polexander in five Bookes.* (Wm. Browne.)
1648. J. F. Senault, *A Paraphrase upon Job.* (Henry, Earl of Monmouth.)
1648. Nicholas Caussin, *The Christian Diary.* (Sir Thos. Hawkins.) Cambridge. Other ed. 1649.
1648. M. de Balzac, *The Prince.* (H[enry] G[reisley].)
1649. Votilley, *Le Parnasse amoureaux.* (A poem.) Orleans.
1649. M. de la Mothe de Vayer, *Of Liberty and Servitude.* (John Evelyn.)
1649. Margaret of Navarre, *The History of the Most Illustrious Lady Queen Margaret Daughter to Henry II . . .* (Robt. Codrington.)
1649. J. Francis Senault, *Man become guilty, or the corruption of his nature by Sin;* also *The Use of the Passions.* (Earl of Monmouth.)
1650. Senault, *The Christian Man: or the Reparation of Nature by Grace.* (Henry Greisley.)
1650. René des Cartes, *The Passions of the Soule, In three Books.*
1650. John Peter Camus, *The Loving Enemie, or, a famous true History.* (Major Wright.)
1651. *A Character of England.* (A pretended translation, by John Evelyn, of a French original.)
1651. *The Royall and Delightfull Game of Picquet.*
1652. La Calprenède, *The Famous Romance of Cassandra.* (Sir Charles Cotterel.)
The complete work printed 1661, 1676, 1725.
Books 1 to 3 (A Person of Quality). 1652.
1652. George de Scudéry, *Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa.* Whole Work, in Foure Parts. (Henry Cogan.)
1652. *The Loves and Adventures of Clerio & Logia.* (Fra. Kirkman.)
1652. John Peter Camus, *Natures Paradox; or The Innocent Imposter.* (Major Wright.)
1652. Peter le Moyne, *The Gallery of Heroick Women.* (Marquesse of Winchester.)
1653. Hugh-Paullin de Cressy, *Exomologesis; or a Faithfull Narration of the Occasion and Motives of the Conversion . . .* Paris.
1653. Bp. Gervais of Grasse, *The Life of the Apostle St. Paul.*

1653. Rabelais, *Works*, bks. 1 & 2. (Thos. Urquhart.)

1653–4–5. M. de Scudéry, *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus.* (F. G.)

1653. T. Corneille, *The Extravagant Sheepherd.* (T. R.) Another ed. 1654.

1654. La Calprenède, *Cléopâtre.* Translated as *Hymen's Prœludia: or Love's Masterpiece.* Parts 1 & 2 (R. Loveday). Part 3 (R. L.), 1655. Parts 4 & 5 (John Coles), 1656. Parts 6 & 7 (J. C.), 1658. Part 8 (J. Webb), 1658. Parts 9 & 10 (J. D.), 1659. Parts 11 & 12, 1659.

1654. M. de Scudéry, *Curia Politiæ, or the Apologies of Severall Princes . . .* (E. Wolley.) Another ed. 1673.

1654. M. de Scudéry, *A Triumphant Arch, erected and consecrated to the Glory of the Feminine Sex . . .* (J. B.)

1654. Charles Sorel, *The Extravagant Shepherd, or the history of the Shepherd of Lysis.* (John Davies of Kidwelly.) Another ed. 1660.

1654. *Treatise against the Principles of Descartes.* (John Davies.)

1654. Manzinie, *Discourses upon several subjects.* (From Italian into French by Scudéry, into English by a Lady.)

1655. M. de Moulines (Ch. Sorel), *The Comical History of Francion, wherein the variety of vices that abuse the age are satyrically limn'd in their native colours.*

1655. *The Letters of Voiture.* (John Davies.)

1655. P. Corneille, *Polyeuctes, or the Martyr.* (Sir Wm. Lower.)

1655. Ceriziers, *The Innocent Lord, or the Divine Providence, the Incomparable History of Joseph.* (Sir Wm. Lower.)

1656. Ceriziers, *The Triumphant Lady, or the Crowned Innocence.* (Sir Wm. Lower.)

1656. P. Corneille, *Horatius, A Roman Tragedie.* (Sir Wm. Lower.)

1656. *A Relation of the Life of Christina Queen of Sweden.* (J[ames] H[owell].)

1656. *The Accomplished Woman.* (Walter Montague.)

1657. Louis Combache, *Sal, Lumen and Spiritus Mundi*

Philosophici, or the Dawning of the Day, Discovered by the Beams of Light . . . (R. T.)

1657. *The Holy Practices of a Divine Lover: or The Sainctly Idiots Devotions.* Paris.

1657. Pascal, *Les Provinciales: or, the Mysterie of Jesuitisme, discovered in certain Letters, . . .*

1657. Scarron, *Novels.* (John Davies.) 3 pub. separately in 1657, 4 others in 1662, and the whole collected in 1667.

1657. *Choice French Proverbs.* (Edw. Leigh.)

1658. Cyrano de Bergerac, *Satyrical Characters and handsome Descriptions in Letters, . . .*

1658. Margaret de Valois, *The Grand Cabinet-Counsels Unlocked.* (Robt. Codrington.)

1658. François Perrault, *The Devill of Mascon. Or, a true Relation . . .* (P. de Moulin.) Oxford.

1658. Jean de Silhon, *The Minister of State, wherein is shown the true use of Modern Policy.* (Henry Herbert.)

1658. M. de Marmet, *Entertainments of the Cours: Or, Academical Conversations . . .* (Thos. Saintserf.)

1658. *The French Gardiner: . . .* (John Evelyn.)

1659. *The History of the English and Scotch Presbytery.* Villa Franca.

1659. Quinault, *The Noble Ingratitude.* (Sir Wm. Lower.) The Hague.

The Amorous Phantasme. (Sir Wm. Lower.) The Hague.

1659. Magdalen de Scudéry, *Cleila, a Romance.* (John Davies.)

1659. *A Further Discovery of the Mysteries of Jesuitism.* (John Davies.)

1659. *Journal of Proceedings between Jansenists and Jesuits.* (John Davies.)

Du Bartas (orig.)	*Faerie Queene*
	MOUTH AND STOMACH
Un double rang de dents sert a l'ouverte gueule De forte pallissade; & qui comme une meule . . . — i. 6. 565–566.	And round about the porch on every side Twice sixteen warders sat, all armed bright In glistring steele, and strongly fortifide: Tall yeomen seemed they, and of great might, And were enraunged ready, still for fight. — ii. ix. 231 *sq.*
Feudray-ie l'estomach, qui *cuisinier parfait*, Cuit les vivres si bien, qu'en peu d'heure il en fait Un chyle nourricier: — i. 6. 677 *sq.*	The *maister Cooke* was cald *Concoction*, A carefull man, and full of comely guise. — 276–277. For day and night it [the furnace] brent ne ceased not. — 265.
& qui comme une meule, Brisant les durs morceaux, envoye promptement Dans le *chaud* estomach l'imparfait aliment. — i. 6. 566–568.	There placed was a caudron wide and tall, Upon a mighty furnace, burning whot, More whot, then Ætn', or flaming Mongiball. — 262 *sq.* But to delay the heat, least by mischaunce It might breake out, and set the whole on fire, There added was by goodly ordinaunce, An huge great paire of bellowes, which did styre Continually, and cooling breath inspyre. — 267. (Spenser gives two stanzas to emphasizing the heat in this Kitchen.)

MOUTH AND STOMACH

Sylvester's Du Bartas	*Purple Island*
Two equall ranks of Orient Pearls impale The open Throat; which (Quern-like) grinding small Th' imperfect food, soon to the Stomack send it. . . . — p. 54.	At the cave's mouth twice sixteen porters stand, Receivers of the customarie rent; Of each side four, — the formost of the band — Whose office to divide what in is sent; Straight other foure break it in peices small, And at each hand twice five, which grinding all, Fit it for convoy, and this Citie's Arsenall. — p. 82. (See also p. 516.)
. . . soon to the Stomack send it (Our *Master-Cook*) whose due *concoctions* mend it. — p. 54. Or, shall I rip the Stomacks hollowness That ready Cook *concocting* every Mess, Which in short time it cunningly converts Into pure liquor fit to feed the parts. — p. 55.	Below dwells in this Citie's market-place The Island's common cook, Concoction; Common to all. . . . Both night and day he works, n'ere sleeps, nor sleep desires. — pp. 83–84.
	That heat, which in his furnace ever fumeth Is nothing like to our hot parching fire: Which all consuming, self at length consumeth But moistning flames a gentle heat inspire, Which sure some in-born neighbor to him lendeth. — p. 84.

Du Bartas (orig.)	*Faerie Queene*

MOUTH AND STOMACH

The rest had severall offices assind,
Some to remove the scum, as it did rise;
Others to beare the same away did mind;
And others it to use according to his kind.

But all the liquor, which was fowle and wast,
Not good nor serviceable else for ought,
They in another great round vessel plast,
Till by a conduit pipe it thence was brought;
And all the rest, that noyous was, and nought,
By secret wayes, that none might it espy,
Was close convaid, and to the back-gate
brought
That cleped was Port Esquiline, whereby
It was avoided quite, and throwne out
privily. — 281.

THE LIVER

Sylvester's Du Bartas	*Purple Island*
MOUTH AND STOMACH	
	There many a groom the busie Cook attends In under offices, and severall place: This gathers up the scumme, and thence it sends To be cast out; and liquors base. Another garbage, which the kitchin cloyes And divers filth, whose sent the place annoyes, By divers secret waies in under-sinks convoyes. — p. 85.
	The last down-right falls to port Esquiline. — p. 89.
THE LIVER	
Or shall I rip the Stomacks hollowness, That ready Cook concocting every Mess, Which in short time it cunningly converts Into pure liquor fit to feed the parts; And then the same doth faithfully deliver Into the Port-vain passing to the Liver, Who turns it soon to blood; and thence again Through branching pipes of the great Hollow-vain,	In this fair town the Isle's great Steward dwells; His porphyre house glitters in purple die; In purple clad himself; from hence he deals His store to all the Isle's necessitie: And though the rent he daily duly pay, Yet doth his flowing substance ne're decay; All day he rent receives, returns it all the day. — p. 95.
Through all the members doth it duly scatter: Much like a Fountain, whose divided Water It selfe dispersing into hundred Brooks, Bathes some fair Garden with her winding crooks.	Here first the purple fountain making vent, By thousand rivers through the Isle dispent, Gives every part fit growth and daily nourishment. — p. 95.

Du Bartas (orig.)	*Faerie Queene*
THE LIVER	
THE LUNGS	
Fendray-ie le poulmon, qui d'un mouvement doux Tempere nuict & jour l'ardeur qui va chez nous? Semblable au ventelet, qui d'une fresche haleine Esvente en plain Esté les cheveux d'une plaine. Poulmon qui prend sans fin, qui sans fin rend l'esprit, De qui le change fait qu'icy tout homme vit: Souflet qui s'agitant par divers intervalles Fait sonner doucement nos parlantes regales! i. 6. 669 *sq.*	(Cf. the bellows cooling the stomach.)—267 *sq.*

Sylvester's Du Bartas	*Purple Island*
THE LIVER	
For as these Brooks, thus branching round about, Make here the Pink, there th' Aconite to sprout, * * * * * Even so the blood (bred of good nourishment) By divers Pipes to all the Body sent, Turns here to Bones, there changes into Nerves, Here is made Marrow, there for Muscles serves, . . . — p. 55.	Two purple streams here raise their boiling heads; The first and least in th' hollow cavern breeding, His waves on divers neighbors grounds dispreads: The next fair river all the rest exceeding, Topping the hill, breaks forth in fierce evasion, And sheds abroad his Nile-like inundation; So gives to all the Isle their food and vegetation. — p. 97.
THE LUNGS	
Or, shall I cleave the Lungs, whose motions light Our inward heat do temper day and night; Like Summer gales waving, with gentle puffs, The smiling Meadows green and gaudy tuffs: Light, spungy Fans, that ever take and give Th' æthereall Aire, whereby we breathe and live: Bellows, whose blast (breathing by certain pawses) A pleasant sound through our speech-organs causes. — p. 55.	Close to Kerdia Pneumon takes his seat, Built of a lighter frame, and spungie mold: * * * * * Fitly tis cloath'd with hangings thinne and light, Lest too much weight might hinder motion: His chiefest use to frame the voice aright: The voice which publishes each hidden motion. — pp. 122–123.

THE EYES

Du Bartas (orig.)	*Faerie Queene*
Les yeux, guides du corps, sont mis en sentinelle Au plus notable endroit de ceste citadelle, Pour descouvrir de loing & garder qu'aucun mal N'assaile au despourveu le divin animal. C'est en les façonnant que ta main tant vantee Se semble estre à peu pres soy-mesme surmontee. — i. 6. 509 *sq.*	The roofe hereof was arched over head, And deckt with flowers and herbars daintily; Two goodly Beacons, set in watches stead, Therein gave light, and flam'd continually: For they of living fire most subtilly Were made, and set in silver sockets bright Cover'd with lids devised of substance sly That readily they shut and open might. — 413 *sq.*
Ces deux astres bessons, qui de leurs douces flammes Allument un brasier dans les plus froides ames, Ces miroirs de l'esprit, ces doux luisans flãbeaux . . . — 521 *sq.*	
Et puis comme le toict preserve de son aisle Des iniures du Ciel la muraille nouvelle: On void mille dangers loin de l'œil repoussez Par le prompt mouvement des sourcils herissez. — 533 *sq.*	

THE EYES

Sylvester's Du Bartas

Th' Eyes (Bodie's guides) are set for Sentinell
In noblest place of all this Citadell,
To spie far-off, that no miss-hap befall
At unawares the sacred Animall.
In forming these thy hand (so famous held)
Seemed almost to have it self excell'd,

* * * * *

These lovely Lamps, whose sweet sparks lively turning,
With sodain glance set coldest harts a-burning,
These windows of the Soule, these starry Twins,
These Cupids quivers have so tender skinns . . .
That they would soon be quenched and put-out
But that the Lord hath Bulwarkt them about.

* * * * *

And as a Pent-house doth preserve a Wall
From Rain and Hail, and other Storms that fall:
The twinkling Lids with their quick-trembling hairs
Defend the Eyes from thousand dang'rous fears.
— p. 53.

Purple Island

At whose proud base are built two watching towers;
Whence Hate and Love skirmish with equall powers:
Whence smiling Gladnesse shines, and sullen Sorrow showers. . . .
Of nothing can this Isle more boast aright:
A twin-born Sunne, a double seeing light;
With much delight they see, are seen with much delight.
Like heav'n in moving, like in heav'nly firing,
Sweet heat and light, no burning flame inspiring,
Yet — ah — too oft we find they scorch with hot desiring.
They mounted high, sit on a loftie hill; . . .
For they the prince's best intelligence,
And quickly warn of future good, or ill.
— pp. 138–139.

Above, two compasse groves, Love's bended bows —
Which fence the towers from flouds of higher place:
Before a wall, deluding rushing foes,
Thats shuts and opens in a moment's space. . .
— p. 140.

Du Bartas (orig.)	*Faerie Queene*
THE EARS	
THE TONGUE OR PALATE FOR TASTE	
. . . ainsi que sans faveur La langue doit juger de leur vraye savour. — i. 6. 563–564.	At th' upper end there sate, yclad in red Downe to the ground, a comely personage, That in his hand a white rod menaged, He Steward was hight Diet, rype of age, And in demeanure sober, and in counsell sage. — 244 *sq.*

THE EARS

Sylvester's Du Bartas	*Purple Island*
That, while the voyce about those windings wanders, The sound might lengthen in those bow'd Meanders; . . . And that no sodaine sound, with violence Pearcing direct the Organs of the Sense, Should stun the brain, but through these Mazie holes Conveigh the voyce more softly to our Soules. — p. 54.	Both which a goodly portall doth embrave And winding entrance, like Meander's erring wave. . . . The entrance winding; lest some violence Might fright the judge with sudden influence, Or some unwelcome guest might vex the busie sense. — pp. 146–147.

THE TONGUE OR PALATE FOR TASTE

And then th' impartiall Tongue might (at the last) Censure their goodness by their savory taste. — p. 54.	Below, a cave, rooft with an heav'n like plaister, And under strew'd with purple tapestrie, Where Gustus dwells, the Isle's and Prince's taster, Koilia's steward, one of th' Pemptarchie. — p. 153.

THE TONGUE FOR SPEECH

Du Bartas (orig.)

O bouche! c'est par toy que les rudes esprits
Ont des esprits sçavans tant de beaux arts apris,
Pas toy nous allumons mille ardeurs genereuses
Dans les tremblans glaçons des ames plus peureuses:
Par toy nous essuyons des plus tristes les yeux;
Par toy nous rembarrons l'effort seditieux
De la bouillante chair, qui nuict & jour se peine
D'oster et throne et sceptre à la raison humaine.

Nos esprits ont par toy commerce dans les cieux:
Par toy nous appaisons l'ire du Dieu des Dieux,
Envoyant d'icy bas sur la voute estoillee
Les fideles souspirs d'une oraison zelee.

Par toy nous fredonnons du Tout-puissant l'honneur:
Nostre langue est l'archer, nostre esprit le sonneur,
Nos dents les nerfs batus, le creux de nos narines
Le creux de l'instrument, d'ou ces odes divines
Prennent leur plus bel air, & d'un piteux accent
Desrobent peu à peu la foudre au Tout-puissant.

—i. 6. 573 *sq.*

Faerie Queene

Within the Barbican a Porter sate,
Day and night duely keeping watch and ward,
Nor wight, nor word mote passe out of the gate,
But in good order, and with dew regard;
Utterers of secrets he from thence debard,
Bablers of folly, and blazers of crime.
His larumbell might lowd and wide be hard,
When cause requir'd, but never out of time;
Early and late it rong, at evening and at prime.

And round about the porch on every side
Twice sixteen warders sat, all armed bright
. . .

—222.

(See p. 506.)

THE TONGUE FOR SPEECH

Sylvester's Du Bartas

O Mouth! by thee the rudest Wits have learn'd
The Noble Arts, which but the wise discern'd.
By thee, we kindle in the coldest spirits
Heroick flames affecting glorious merits.
By thee, we wipe the tears of wofull Eyes:
By thee, we stop the stubborn mutinies
Of our rebellious Flesh, whose restless Treason
Strives to dis-throne and to dis-scepter Reason.

By thee, our Soules with Heav'n have conversation,
By thee, we calm th' Almighties indignation,
When faithfull sighs from our soules centre fly
About the bright Throne of his Majesty.

By thee, we warble to the King of Kings;
Our Tongues the Bowe, our Teeth the trembling Strings,
Our hollow Nostrils (with their double rent)
The hollow Belly of the Instrument;
Our Soule's the sweet Musician, that playes
So divine lessons, and so Heav'nly layes,
As, in deep passion of pure burning zeal,
Jove's forked Lightnings from his fingers steal.
— p. 54.

Purple Island

With Gustus, Lingua dwells, his pratling wife,
Indu'd with strange and adverse qualities;
The nurse of hate and love, of peace and strife,
Mother of fairest truth, and foulest lies:
Of best or worst — no mean — made all of fire,
Which sometimes hell, and sometimes heav'ns inspire;
By whom oft Truth'self speaks, oft that first murth'ring Liar.

The idle sunne stood still at her command,
Breathing his firie steeds in Gibeon:
And pale-fac'd Cynthia at her word made stand,
Resting her coach on vales of Aialon.
Her voice oft open breaks the stubborn skies,
And holds th' Almightie's hands with suppliant cries:
Her voice tears open Hell with horrid blasphemies.

* * * * *

For close within, He sets twice sixteen guarders,
Whose hardned temper could not soon be mov'd:
Without the gate He placed two other warders,
To shut and ope the doore, as it behov'd: . . .

Du Bartas (orig.)	*Faerie Queene*
THE TONGUE FOR SPEECH	
THE BRAIN	
Mais tu logeas encore l'humain entendement En l'estage plus haut de ce beau bastiment; Afin que tout ainsi que d'une citadelle Il domptast la fureur du corps, qui se rebelle Trop souvent contre lui & que nostre raison Tenant dans un tel fort jour & nuict garnison, Foulast dessous ses pieds l'enuie, le cholere, . . . — i. 6. 503 *sq.*	That Turrets [the Head's] frame most admirable was, Like highest heaven compassed around. And lifted high above this earthly masse, Which it survew'd, as hils doen lower ground. — ii. 9. 402 *sq.* Spenser then goes on to describe at length the dwellings — in the Head — of Imagination (Phantastes), Reason or Understanding, and Memory (Eumnestes).

Sylvester's Du Bartas	*Purple Island*
THE TONGUE FOR SPEECH	
	Thus — with their help — by her the sacred Muses Refresh the prince dull'd with much business; By her the prince, unto his prince oft uses In heav'nly throne from hell to finde access. She heav'n to earth in musick often brings, And earth to heav'n; but oh how sweet she sings When in rich Grace's Key she tunes poore nature's strings. — pp. 154–156.
THE BRAIN	
Also thou plantedst th' Intellectual Pow'r In th' highest stage of all this stately Bow'r, That thence it might (as from a Citadell) Command the members that too-oft rebell Against his Rule: and that our Reason, there Keeping continuall Garrison (as 'twere) Might Avarice, Envie, and Pride subdue, Lust, Gluttony, Wrath, Sloath, and all their Crew Of factious Commons, that still strive to gain The golden Scepter from their Soverain. — p. 53.	The description of Understanding, Phantastes, and Eumnestes (about 3 stanzas each) in *Purple Island* (p. 180 *sq.*) are plainly and confessedly drawn from Spenser's description of the House of Alma. Fletcher says: — "But let my song passe from these worthy sages Unto this Island's highest Soveraigne, And these hard warres which all the yeare he wages: For these three late a gentle shepherd-swain Most sweetly sung, as he before had seen In Alma's house; his memorie yet green Lives in his well-tuned songs, whose leaves immortall been." — p. 183.

COUNTRY LIFE

Sylvester, pp. 29–30 (92 lines)	*Purple Island*, p. 317 *sq.* (35 lines)
O thrice, thrice happy He, who shuns the cares Of City-troubles and of State-affairs; . . . Never pale Envie's poysonie heads do hiss To gnaw his heart; nor Vultur Avarice; His Field's bounds, bound his thoughts; he never sups For Nectar, poyson mixt in silver Cups; Neither in golden platters doth he lick For sweet Ambrosia deadly Arsenick.	Thrice, oh thrice happie shepherds life and state, When Courts are happiness' unhappie pawns! His cottage low, and safely humble gate Shuts out proud Fortune, with her scorns and fawns; No feared treason breaks his quiet sleep; . . .
What though his wardrobe be not stately stuft With sumptuous silks (pinked & pounc't & puft) With gold-ground Velvets, and with silver Tissue,	No Serian worms he knows, that with their threed Draw out their silken lives, nor silken pride.
And all the glory of old Eves proud Issue? . . . He is warm wrapped in his owne-grow'n Wooll.	His lambes warm fleece well fits his little need, Not in that proud Sidonian tincture di'd; No emptie hopes, no courtly fears him fright;
No fallow Fear doth day or night afflict him;	

Sylvester, pp. 29–30 (92 lines)	*Purple Island*, p. 317 *sq.* (35 lines)
False counsaillers (Concealers of the Law) Turn-coat Attourneys, that with both hands draw, Sly Peti-Foggers, Wranglers at the Bar, Proud Purse-Leaches, Harpies of Westminster, With fained chiding and foul jarring noyse Break not his Brain, nor interrupt his joyes; But cheerfull Birds, chirping him sweet Good-morrows, With Natures Musick do beguile his sorrows;	Instead of musick and base flattering tongues, Which wait to first-salute my lord's uprise: The cheerful lark wakes him with early songs, And birds' sweet whistling notes unlock his eyes;
His wandring Vessell, reeling to and fro, On th' irefull ocean (as the windes do blowe) With sudden Tempest is not overwhurld, To seek his sad death in another world; . . . . To summon timely sleep, he doth not need Æthiop's cold Rush, nor drowsie Poppy-seed; Nor keep in consort (as Mecænas did) Luxurious Villains (Vials I should have said) . . .	His life is neither tost in boistrous seas Of troublous world, nor lost in slothfull ease;

DU BARTAS—DRAYTON

Sylvester's Du Bartas, ed. 1641, p. 19	*Drayton, Muses Elizium*, p. 107 *sq.*
Some to a Towr, some to a Cedar-tree, Whence round about a World of deaths they see: But wheresoever their pale fears aspire For hope of safety, th' Ocean surgeth higher, And still still mounting as they still do mount; Whence they cease mounting, doth them soon surmount.	. . . some clamber up to Towers, But these and them, the deluge soone devoures, Some to the top of Pynes and Cedars get, Thinking themselves they safely there should set: But the rude Floud that over all doth sway, Quickly comes up, and carrieth them away.
The Glead & Swallow, labouring long (effectless) 'Gainst certain death, with wearied wings fal down (For want of Pearch) and with the rest do drown.	The swift-wing'd Swallow, and the slow-wing'd Owle, The fleetest Bird, and the most flagging Fowle, Are at one passe, the Floud so high hath gone, There was no ground to set a foot upon. . . . (22 lines)

Sylvester's Du Bartas, ed. cit. p. 19	*Drayton*, p. 107 *sq.*
The Indian Manat and the Mullet float O'er Mountain tops, where yerst the bearded Goat Did bound and brouz; the crooked Dolphin scuds O'er th' highest branches of the highest Woods.	The crooked Dolphin on those Mountaines playes, Whereas before that time, not many daies The Goate was grazing; and the mighty Whale Upon a rock out of his way doth fall; . . . (2 lines) The Grampus, and the Whirlpoole, as they rove, Lighting by chance upon a lofty Grove Under this world of waters, are so much Pleasd with their wombes each tender branch to touch, That they leave slyme upon the curled sprayes, On which the Birds sung their harmonious Layes.

APPENDIX C

I. MONTAIGNE AND BACON. "THE FEAR OF DEATH"

MONTAIGNE	BACON
(*Essais*, ed. Courbet et Royer, Paris, 1872–1900)	
1. i. 103. Je crois, à la verité, que ce sont ces mines et appareils effroyables, dequoy nous l'entournons, qui nous font plus de peur qu'elle: une toute nouvelle forme de vivre; les cris des meres, des femmes et des enfants; la visitation de personnes estonnées et transies; l'assistance d'un nombre de valets pasles et esplores; une chambre sans jour; des cierges allumez; nostre chevet assiegé de medecins et de prescheurs; somme, tout horreur et tout effroy autour de nous; nous voyla desja ensepvelis et enterrez, . . . (Cf. also iv. 88.)	1. Essay II. Of Death. And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa. Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible.—*Essays*, ed. Reynolds, p. 13.

MONTAIGNE	BACON
2. iv. 173. À veoir les efforts que Seneque se donne pour se preparer contre la mort; à le veoir suer d'ahan pour se roider et pour s'asseurer, et se debattre si long temps en cette perche, j'eusse esbranslé sa reputation, s'il ne l'eust, en mourant, trez vaillamment maintenue. iv. 189. Si nous avons scue vivre constamment et tranquillement, nous scaurons mourir de mesme. Ils s'en vanteront tant qu'il leur plaira, tota philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est; mais il m'est advis que c'est bien le bout, non pourtant le but, de la vie; c'est sa fin, son extremité, non pourtant son object.	2. Essay II. Of Death. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. — *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3. iv. 189. (Montaigne uses and comments on this quotation) "Tota philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est." (Cf. 2, above.)	3. In "De Augmentis Scientiarum," *Wks.*, i. 726. (Ed. Ellis and Spedding, 1857–1859.) Mortis formidinem medendo augent. Etenim cum nihil aliud fere vitam humanam faciant quam mortis quandam præparationem et disciplinam, quomodo fieri possit ut ille hostis mirum in modum non videatur terribilis, contra quem muniendi nullus sit finis?

Montaigne	Bacon
4. iv. 194. [La mort] est une partie de nostre estre, non moins essentielle que le vivre. i. 98. Comme nostre naissance nous apporta la naissance de toutes choses; aussi sera la mort de toutes choses, nostre mort. . . . La mort est origine d'une autre vie. i. 99. Cettuy vostre estre, que vous iouyssez, est également party à la mort et à la vie. Le premier iour de vostre naissance vous achemine à mourir comme à vivre. Prima, quae vitam dedit, hora, carpsit. Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.	4. Essay II. Of Death. It is as natural to die as to be born. — Ed. Reynolds, p. 14.
5. iii. 304. Celuy qui meurt en la meslee, les armes a la main, il n'estudie pas lors la mort, il ne la sent, ny ne la considere: l'ardeur du combat l'emporte.	5. Essay II. Of Death. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who for the time scarce feels the hurt. — *Ibid.*, p. 14.

II. MONTAIGNE AND BACON. "THE MASTERY HELD BY HABIT"

MONTAIGNE (*Essais*, ed. cit.)	BACON
1. i. 122. Usus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister. . . . Car c'est à la verité une violente et traistresse maistresse d'escole, que la coustume.	1. Essay XXXIX. Of Custom and Education. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavor to obtain good customs. — *Ibid.*, p. 277.
2. i. 124. Platon tansa un enfant, qui iouoit aux noix. Il luy respondit: Tu me tanses de peu de chose. L'accoustumance, repliqua Platon, n'est pas chose de peu. Je trouve que noz plus grands vices prennent leur ply des nostre plus tendre enfance, et que nostre principal gouvernement est entre les mains des nourrices.	2. Essay XXXIX. Of Custom and Education. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is in effect but an early custom. — *Ibid.*, p. 277.

MONTAIGNE	BACON
3. i. 25. Les nations voisines, où le langage est plus esloigné du nostre, et auquel, si vous ne la formez de bonne heure, la langue ne se peu plier.	3. Essay XXXIX. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth than afterwards. — Ed. Reynolds, p. 277.
4. i. 345. Elles viennent plus de l'ordre, que de la recepte: Faber est suæ quisque fortunæ. i. 367. Je m'en vais clorre ce pas par un verset ancien, que ie trouve singulierement beau à ce propos: Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam. i. 357. Il est luy mesme à soy son empire. Sapiens sol ipse fingit fortunam sibi. Que lui reste il à desirer.	4. Essay XL. Of Fortune. But chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands; Faber quisque fortunæ suæ, saith the poet. (This quotation appears again in his Discourse touching helps for the intellectual powers.) — *Wks.*, ed. cit., vii. 98.

III. MONTAIGNE AND SHAKESPEARE

SHAKESPEARE	FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE
Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius. Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong; Therein, ye gods, you tyrants do defeat: Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass, Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron, Can be retentive to the strength of spirit; But life, being weary of these worldly bars, Never lacks power to dismiss itself. If I know this, know all the world besides, That part of tyranny that I do bear, I can shake off at pleasure. — *Julius Cæsar*, i. 3.	Herein [*i.e.* in freedom from the fear of death] consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords us meanes therewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives or fetters. — Florio, i. 19.
Cowards die many times before their deaths; The valiant never taste of death but once. Of all the wonders that I yet have heard, It seems to me most strange that men should fear; Seeing that death, a necessary end, Will come when it will come. — *Ibid.*, ii. 2.	. . . Since we are threatened by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, than to endure one; what matter when it commeth since it is unavoidable? — *Ibid.*, i. 19.

SHAKESPEARE	FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE
Men must endure Their going hence, even as their coming hither; Ripeness is all. — *King Lear*, v. 2.	But nature compels us to it. Depart (saith she) out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, returne without passion or amazement, from life to death; . . . — Florio, i. 19.
	It consisteth not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long enough. — *Ibid.*
Not a whit, we defy augury; there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come: if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come; the readiness is all; since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes? — *Hamlet*, v. 2.	Moreover no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behind, was no more yours than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more. . . . Wheresoever your life ended, there is it all. It consisteth not in number of yeares, but in your will, that you have lived long enough. — *Ibid.*
My bones would rest, That have but labor'd to attain this hour. — *Julius Cæsar*, v. 5.	Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth weariness; it only declares it. All daies march towards death, only the last comes to it. — *Ibid.*

Shakespeare	Montaigne
A breath thou art, Servile to all the skyey influences, That dost this habitation where thou keep'st Hourly afflict. — *Measure for Measure*, iii. 1.	To consider the power of domination these bodies have not onely upon our lives and condition of our fortune. . . . But also over our dispositions, and inclinations, our discourses and wits, which they rule, provoke and more at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth us. . . . Seeing that not a man alone nor a king, only, but monarchies and empires; yea, and all the world below is moved at the shaking of one of the least, heavenly motions. . . . — Florio, ii. 12.
Merely thou art death's fool; For him thou labor'st by thy flight to shun, And yet runn'st toward him still. — *Ibid.*	The end of our cariere is death; it is the necessarie object of our aime; if it affright us, how is it possible we should step one foot further without an ague? — Florio, i. 19. To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe? — *Ibid.*
Thou art not noble; For all the accommodations that thou bearst Are nurst by baseness. — *Ibid.*	. . . No eminent or glorious vertue can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons which moved the Epicureans to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires; forsomuch as the very effects of his goodnesse cannot exercise themselves towards us without disturbing his rest by meanes of the passions which are as motives and solicitations directing the soule to vertuous actions? — Florio, ii. 12.

SHAKESPEARE	MONTAIGNE
Thou are not thyself; For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains That issue out of dust, ... — *Measure for Measure*, iii. 1.	It is our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eat: it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire and nailes thereof." — Florio, ii. 12.
Happy thou art not; For what thou hast not, still thou strivest to get, And what thou hast, forget'st. — *Ibid.*	Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choice and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not. — *Ibid.*, 14.
Thou art not certain; For thy complexion shifts to strange effects, After the moon. — *Ibid.*	. . . If we should ever continue one and the same, how is it then that now we rejoyce at one thing, and now at another? . . . For it is not likely that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admitteth alterations continueth not the same; and if it be not one selfe same, then it is not; but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other. — *Ibid.*, 12.

SHAKESPEARE	MONTAIGNE
Thou hast nor youth nor age, But as it were an after-dinner's sleep, Dreaming on both; for all thy blessed youth Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms Of palsied eld; and when thou art old and rich, Thou hast neither heat, affection, limb nor beauty, To make thy riches pleasant. — *Ibid.*	. . . Our reason and soule, receiving the phantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorizing our dreames actions with like approbation, as it doth the daies, why make we not a doubt whether our thinking and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping? — *Ibid.*, 12.
Yet in this life Lie hid moe thousand deaths; yet death we fear, That makes these odds all even. — *Ibid.*	And then we doe foolishly feare a kind of death, whereas we have already past and dayly passe to many others; . . . The flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes upon us, and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne mans age; childhood in youth and the first age dieth in infancie; and yesterday endeth in this day; and today shall die in tomorrow, and nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state.
Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou owest the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume. — Ha! Here's three on's are sophisticated. Thou art the thing itself; unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. Off, off, you lendings! Come, unbutton here. — *King Lear*, iii. 4.	. . . Exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arm himself withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, . . . according as their quality might need or their condition require. — *Ibid.*, 12.

SHAKESPEARE	MONTAIGNE
We are such stuff As dreams are made on, and our little life Is rounded with a sleep. — *Tempest*, iv. 1.	For wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment. — Florio, ii. 12.
To be, or not to be, — that is the question: Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, Or to take arms against a sea of troubles, And by opposing end them? To die, — to sleep, — No more; and by a sleep to say we end The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks That flesh is heir to, — 'tis a consummation Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, — to sleep, — To sleep! perchance to dream! ay, there's the rub; For in that sleep of death what dreams may come When we have shuffled off this mortal coil, Must give us pause: . . .	Every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of itselfe but an obscure apparance and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion. — *Ibid.*, ii. 12. Yet I sometimes suffer myselfe by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arm my selfe to expell or wrestle against them assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischiefe that upon the neck of the former came rushing upon mee. — *Ibid.*, iii. 12. I know I have neither frequented nor knowne death, nor have I seen anybody that

SHAKESPEARE	MONTAIGNE
. . . who would fardels bear, To grunt and sweat under a weary life, But that the dread of something after death, The undiscover'd country from whose bourn No traveller returns, puzzles the will, And makes us rather bear those ills we have Than fly to others that we know not of? — *Hamlet*, iii. 1.	hath either felt or tried her qualities to instruct me in them. Those who feare her presuppose to know: as for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they doe in the other world. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet it is to bee believed that if it be a transmigration from one place to another there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthy famous persons that are deceased, and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupt judges. If it be a consummation of one's being, it is also an amendment and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames. — *Ibid.*, iii. 12.
What is a man, If his chief good and market of his time Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more. Sure, he that made us with such large discourse, Looking before and after, gave us not That capability and godlike reason To fust in us unus'd. — *Ibid.*, iv. 4.	Since it has pleased God to endow us with some capacitie of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common laws, but rather with judgement and voluntary wisdom apply ourselves unto them; we ought somewhat to yield to the simple auctoritie of Nature, but not suffer her tyranically to carry us away; only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. — *Ibid.*, ii. 8.

SHAKESPEARE	MONTAIGNE
For thou hast been As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing, A man that fortune's buffets and rewards Hath ta'en with equal thanks: and blest are those Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger To sound what stop she please. Give me that man That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart, As I do thee. — *Hamlet*, iii. 2.	It is not to be the friend (lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow uncessantly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as he cannot stray from them, nor wrest them. — Florio, iii. 3.
Rashly, — And prais'd be rashness for it, let us know, Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well, When our deep plots do pall; and that should teach us There's a divinity that shapes our ends, Rough-hew them how we will, . . . — *Ibid.*, v. 2.	My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by its first show, lightly consider the same; the maine and chiefe point of the worke I am wont to resigne to heaven. — *Ibid.*, iii. 8.

SHAKESPEARE	MONTAIGNE
Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all: And thus the native hue of resolution Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, And enterprises of great pitch and moment With this regard their currents turn awry, And lose the name of action. . . . — *Ibid.*, iii. 1. . . . Some craven scruple Of thinking too precisely on the event, — A thought which, quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom And ever three parts coward. — *Ibid.*, iv. 4.	. . . For the use of life and service of publike society there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtility and curiositie, . . . Affaires need not be sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes, . . . Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences thereof hindereth his election. — *Ibid.*, ii. 20.

IV. MONTAIGNE AND JONSON

FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE (Tudor Translations)	JONSON, TIMBER (*Wks.*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham, vol. ix)
1. Florio, iii. 331. [The minde] doth but quest and firret, and uncessantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in her owne worke; as doe our silke-worms, and therein stifleth hir selfe;	1. Jonson, p. 161. [The soul] is a perpetual agent, prompt and subtle; but often flexible, and erring, intangling herself like a silk-worm.

FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE	JONSON
2. Florio, iii. 155. For this consideration, was Carneades wont to say, that Princes children learn't nothing right but to mannage and ride horses; for so much as in all other exercises, every man yeeldeth, and giveth them the victory; but a horse who is neyther a flatterer nor a Courtier, will as soone throw the child of a king, as the son of a base porter.	2. Jonson, p. 175. They say princes learn no art truly, but the art of horsemanship. The reason is, the brave beast is no flatterer. He will throw a prince as soon as his groom. Which is an argument, that the good counsellors to princes are the best instruments of a good age.
3. Florio, i. 269. And to the same Philip, said a Musitian, gainst whom he contended about his Art, God forbid, my Soveraigne, that ever so much hurt should befall you, that you should understand these things better than my selfe.	3. Jonson, p. 135. But hear (with Alexander) the answer the musician gave him. Absit, o rex, ut tu melius haec scias, quam ego.
4. Florio, i. 48. It is reported that Severus Cassius spake better extempore and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune than to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speech redounded to his profit; and that his adversaries feared to urge him lest his sudden anger should redouble his eloquence.	4. Jonson, p. 162. I have known many excellent men, that would speak suddenly to the admiration of their hearers . . . their fortunes deserved better of them than their care. And I have heard of them compelled to speak, out of necessity, that have so infinitely exceeded themselves, as it was better both for them and their auditory, that they were so surprised, not prepared. Nor was it safe then to cross them, for their adversary, their anger made them more eloquent.

Florio's Montaigne	Jonson
5. Florio, iii. 172. For this sentence is justly received, That counsels ought not to be judged by the events. iii. 173. To maintaine the authority of our kings counsell it is not requisite, that prophane persons should be partakers of it, and looke further into it, then the first barre. To uphold it's reputation, it should be reverenced upon credit, and at full.	5. Jonson, p. 166. The vulgar are commonly ill-natured, and always grudging against their governors. . . . Then all the counsels are made good or bad by the events . . . where they ought wholly to hang on his [the king's] mouth, as he to consist of himself, and not others counsels.
6. Florio, i. 175. Not as some do, who in lieu of gently-bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and crueltie. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a wel-borne gentle nature. i. 176. How wide are they, which go about to allure a child's mind to go to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with handsfull of rods?	6. Jonson, p. 189. Thence the school itself is called a play or game; and all letters are so best taught to scholars. They should not be affrighted or deterred in their entry, but drawn on with exercise and emulation. A youth should not be made to hate study, before he know the causes to love it; or taste the bitterness before the sweet; but called on and allured, intreated and praised; yea, when he deserves it not.

V. MONTAIGNE AND RALEIGH

(I) "CONFLICT OF SENSES"

Florio's Montaigne (Tudor Translations)	Raleigh (*Wks.*, ed. Birch, vol. i.)
1. Florio, ii. 326. Shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste; There are Hearbs and Ointments, which to some parts of the body are good, and to othersome hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but unpleasing to the sight.	1. *Skeptick*, p. 339. Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the Eye; so Ointment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste.
2. Florio, ii. 324. Such as are troubled with the yellow jandise, deeme all things they look upon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them than to us. . . . Those which are sicke of the disease which Phisitions call Hypospaghma, which is a suffusion of blood under the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloodie and red. Those humors that so change the sights operation, what know we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in beasts? For we see some, whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jandise, others, that have them all blood-shotten with rednesse: . . .	2. *Skeptick*, p. 332. That very object which seemeth unto us white, unto them which have the Jaundice seemeth pale, and red unto those whose eyes are Bloodshot. Forasmuch, then, as living Creatures have some white, some pale, some red Eyes, why should not one and the same object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale?

FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE	RALEIGH
3. Florio, ii. 325. When we winke a little with our eye, wee perceive the bodies we looke upon to seeme longer and out-stretched. Many beasts have their eye as winking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes give it, being in their ordinarie seate.	3. *Skeptick*, p. 332. If a Man rub his Eye, the Figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long and narrow; is it then not likely, that those Creatures which have a long and slanting Pupil of the Eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, etc. do convey the Fashion of that which they behold under another Form to the Imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?
4. Florio, ii. 325. If our eares chance to be hindred by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing be stop't, we receive the sound otherwise, then we were ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have hairie eares, or that in lieu of an eare have but a little hole, doe not by consequence heare that we heare, and receive the sound other then it is.	4. *Skeptick*, p. 333. . . . for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow Passage, and the Ear which hath an open and wide Passage, do receive the same Sound in the same Degree? or that the Ear whose Inside is full of Hair, doth hear in the same just Measure, that the Ear doth whose Inside is smooth? since Experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same Manner and Degree that it doth if our Ears be open.
5. Florio, ii. 326. What? doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: . . .	5. *Skeptick*, p. 339. This Argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the Differences of the Senses of Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Touching and Tasting be considered; for that the Senses differ it seemeth plain. Painted Tables (in which the Art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eye, as if the Parts of them were some brighter and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not so.

(II) "UNCERTAINTY OF SENSES"

Florio's Montaigne	Raleigh
1. Florio, ii. 316. Those Sects which combate mans science, doe principally combate the same by the uncertainety and feeblenesse of our senses: For, since by their meane and intermission all knowledge comes unto us, if either they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring unto us, if the light which by them is transported into our soule be obscured in the passage, we have nothing else to hold by.	1. *Skeptick*, p. 352. These great differences cannot but cause a divers and contrary Temperament, and Quality in those Creatures, and consequently, a great Diversity in their Fancy and Conceit; so that tho' they apprehend one and the same Object, yet they must do it after a diverse Manner. . . . But this will more plainly appear, if the Instruments of Sense in the Body be observed: for we shall find, that as these Instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it.

(III) "MAN AND OTHER ANIMALS"

1. (This comparison, anything but in man's favor, is made a prominent feature in *The Apology for Raymond Sebond.*)	1. *Skeptick*, p. 335. If it be said, that the Imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward Object, than the Imagination of other living Creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said) this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other Creatures.

FLORIO'S MONTAIGNE	RALEIGH
2. Florio, ii. 158. Chrysippus, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path, that led three severall wayes, in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuit of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth senting first one way, and then another, and having assured himself of two because he findeth not the track of what he hunteth for, without more adoe, furiously betakes himself to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dog must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe, "I have followed my Masters footing hitherto, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other."	2. *Skeptick*, p. 336. This creature, [the dog] saith Chrysippus, is not void of Logick; for when in following any Beast he cometh to three several Ways, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second; and if he find that the Beast which he pursueth be not fled one of these two ways, he presently without smelling any further to it, taketh the third way: which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other Way; but neither this, nor this; Ergo, the third: and so away he runneth.
3. Florio, ii. 146. By one kinde of barking of a Dogge, the Horse knoweth he is angrie; by another voice of his, he is nothing dismaid.	3. *Skeptick*, p. 336. The Dog delivereth one kind of Voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry.
4. Florio, ii. 157–158.	4. *Skeptick*, p. 336. (What is here said of the dog's skill in physic is paralleled by Montaigne's accounts of the sagacity of other animals in this.)

Florio's Montaigne	Raleigh
5. Florio, ii. 152–153. Aristotle to that purpose alleageth the divers calls or purres of Partriges, according to the situation of their place of breeding:— . . . *variæque volucres* *Longe alias alio jaciunt in tempore voces,* *Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus unâ* *Raucisonos cantus.* And divers birds, send forth much divers sounds At divers times, and partly change the grounds Of their hoarce-sounding song, As seasons change along.	5. *Skeptick*, p. 336. Do not Birds by one Kind of Speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves? do they not by their several Voices express their several Passions of Joy, of Grief, of Fear, in such Manner, that their Fellows understand them? do they not by their Voice foreshew Things to come?

VI. MONTAIGNE AND DRUMMOND

MONTAIGNE	DRUMMOND'S "SONG" (*Wks.*, ed. Edin., 1711)	DRUMMOND'S "CYPRESS GROVE" (*Wks.*, ed. Edin., 1711)
1. *Essais* I, XIX.[1] Et si la compagnie vous peut soulager, le monde ne va-il pas mesme train que vous allez? Omnia te, vita perfuncta, sequentur, Tout ne branle-il pas vostre branle? Y a-il rien qui ne vieillise quant et vous? Mille hommes, mille animaux et mille autres creatures meurent en cette mesme heure que vous mourez. —i. 130.	1. p. 12. But look how many millions her advance, What Numbers with her enter in this Dance, With those which are to come.	1. p. 118. This is the Highway of Mortality, and our general Home: Behold what Millions have trod it before thee, what multitudes shall after thee, with them which at that same Instant run.
2. *Essais* I, XX. Faites place aux autres comme d'autres vous l'ont faite. —i. 129.		2. p. 118. They who forewent us did leave a Room for us, and should we grieve to do the same to those which should come after us? Cf. also *Cypress Grove*, p. 126 . . . he must render an Account, so soon as his Term expireth, and he hath made Room for others.

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[1] This appears as Essay XX in ed. Motheau et Jouaust, Paris, 1886, from which these quotations were taken.

Montaigne	Drummond's "Song"	Drummond's "Cypress Grove"
3. *Essais*, I, XIX. Mais nature nous y force. "Sortez," dit-elle, "de ce monde comme vous y estes entrez. Le mesme passage que vous fites de la mort à la vie, sans passion et sans frayeur, refaites le de la vie à la mort." —i. 127.	3. p. 13. As Birth, Death, which so much thee doth apall, A Piece is of the Life of this great All.	3. p. 118. This is her unalterable and inevitable Decree: As we had no Part of our Will in our Entrance into this Life, we should not presume to any in our leaving it, but soberly learn to will that which he wills, whose very Will giveth Being to all that it Wills.
4. *Essais*, I, XIX. Parquoy c'est pareille folie de pleurer de ce que d'icy à cent ans nous ne vivrons pas que de pleurer de ce que nous ne vivions pas il y a cent ans. —i. 126.	4. p. 12. . . . If thou dost grieve That Times should be in which she should not live, Or e're she was weep that Day's Wheel was roll'd, Weep that she liv'd not in the Age of Gold. For that she was not then, thou may'st deplore, As well as that she now can be no more.	4. p. 119. If thou dost complain, that there shall be a Time in which thou shalt not be, why dost thou not also grieve that there was a Time in which thou wast not? For not to have been a Thousand Years before this Moment, is as much to be deplored, as not to live a Thousand after it, and the Effect of them both being one: . . .

MONTAIGNE	DRUMMOND'S "SONG"	DRUMMOND'S "CYPRESS GROVE"
5. *Essais*, I, XIX. Imaginez, de vray, combien seroit une vie perdurable moins supportable à l'homme et plus penible que n'est la vie que je luy ay donnée. Si vous n'aviez la mort, vous me maudiriez sans cesse de vous en avoir privé. — i. 131.		5. p. 121. If there be a Satiety in Life, then must there not be a Sweetness in Death? Man were an intolerable Thing, were he not Mortal; . . . In Two or Three Ages (without Death) what an unpleasant and lamentable Spectacle, were the most flourishing Cities? For what should there be to be seen in them, save Bodies languishing and curbing again into the Earthly Pale, disfigured Faces, Skeletons instead of Men? And what to be heard, but the Exclamations of the young, Complaints of the old, with the pitiful Cries of sick and pining Persons? There is almost no Infirmity worse than Age.

Montaigne	Drummond's "Song"	Drummond's "Cypress Grove"
6. *Essais*, I, XIX. J'y ay a escient meslé quelque peu d'amertune pour vous empescher, voyant la commodité de son usage, de l'embrasser trop avidement et indiscretement. —i. 131.		6. p. 121. The Wise and All-provident Creator hath made Death, by many Signs of Pain, appear terrible, to the effect, that if Man, for Relief of Miseries and present Evils, should have unto it Recourse, it being apparently a worse, he should rather constantly endure what he knows, than have Refuge unto that which he feareth, and knoweth not.[1]
7. *Essais*, I, XL. La mort ne se sent que par le discours, d'autant que c'est le mouvement d'un instant. Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est præsentis in illa; Morsque minus pœnæ quam mora mortis habet. Mille bestes, mille hommes sont plustost mors que menassés.		7. p. 121. Now, although Death were an extream Pain, since it is in an Instant, What can it be? Why should we fear it? For while we are, it cometh not, and it being come we are no more.

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[1] Cf. Hamlet's "Rather bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." See p. 297.

MONTAIGNE	DRUMMOND'S "SONG"	DRUMMOND'S "CYPRESS GROVE"
8. *Essais,* II, III. Voire quelquefois la fuitte de la mort fait que nous y courons, Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori? comme ceux qui, de peur du precipice, s'y lancent eux-mesmes. Multos in summa pericula misit Venturi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est, Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent, Et differe potest. Lucan, vii, 104. (Cf. Essay XVII, Bk. I. Of Fear. Fear of death is often condemned in Essay XIX.)		8. pp. 121–122. Nay, though it were most painful, long continuing, and ugly, why should we fear it? Since Fear is a foolish Passion, but where it may preserve; But it cannot preserve us from Death; yea rather the Fear of it banishing the Comforts of present Contentments, makes Death to advance and approach the more near unto us.
9. *Essais,* I, XIX. Tu as passé les termes accoustumez de vivre; et qu'il soit ainsi, conte de tes cognoissans combien il en est mort avant ton aage plus qu'il n'en y a qui l'ayent atteint. —i. 114.		9. p. 122. But number thy Years which are now and thou shalt find, that whereas Ten have out-lived thee, Thousands have not attained this age.

MONTAIGNE	DRUMMONDS "SONG"	DRUMMOND
10. *Essais*, I, XIX. Et si vous avez vescu un jour, vous avez tout veu: un jour est égal à tous jours. Il n'y a point d'autre lumiere ny d'autre nuict. Ce soleil, cette lune, ces estoilles, cette disposition, c'est celle mesme que vos ayeuls ont jouye et qui entretiendra vos arriere-nepveuz. —i. 128.	10. p. 13. But why shouldst thou here longer wish to be? One Year doth serve all Nature's Pomp to see Nay, even one Day and Night. This Moon, that Sun, Those lesser Fires about this Round which run, Be but the same which under Saturn's Reign, Did the Serpentine Seasons interchain.	10. p. 122. One year is sufficient to behold all the Magnificence of Nature, nay, even One Day and Night; for more is but the same brought again. This Sun, that Moon, these Stars, the varying Dance of the Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, is that very same which the Golden Age did see.
11. *Essais*, I, XIX. Le plus et le moins en la nostre, si nous la comparons à l'eternité ou encores à la durée des montaignes, des rivieres, des estoilles, des arbres et mesmes d'aucuns animaux, n'est pas moins ridicule. —i. 127.	11. p. 13. Which[1] if thou parallel with Lustres run, Or those whose Courses are but now begun, In Days great Number they shall less appear, Than with the Sea when matched is a Tear.	11. p. 122. Why shouldst thou then care, whether thy Days be many or few, which, when prolonged to the uttermost, prove, paralleled with Eternity, as a Tear is to the Ocean?

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[1] The years of life.

MONTAIGNE	DRUMMOND'S "SONG"	DRUMMOND
12. *Essais*, I, XIX. L'utilité du vivre n'est pas en l'espace, elle est en l'usage. Tel a vescu long temps, qui a peu vescu. Attendez vous y pendant que vous y estes. Il gist en vostre volonte, non au nombre des ans, que vous ayez assez vescu. —i. 130.	12. p. 13. How oft doth Life grow less by living long? And what excelleth but what dieth young?	12. p. 122. Days are not to be esteemed after the Number of them, but after the Goodness. p. 125. Dost thou think thou leavest Life too soon? Death is best young. Things fair and excellent are not of long Endurance upon Earth. Who liveth well liveth long.
13. *Essais*, I, XIX. Mais quoy! les jeunes et les vieux y pensent aussi peu les uns que les autres. Et n'est homme si decrepite, tant qu'il voit Mathusalem devant, qui ne pense avoir encore un an (*vingt ans*) dans le corps. —i. 114.		13. p. 122. To die young, is to do that soon, and in some fewer Days, which once thou must do; . . . When thou hast lived to that Age thou desirest, or one of Plato's Years, so soon as the last of thy Days riseth above thy Horizon, thou wilt then, as now, demand longer Respite, and expect more to come.

MONTAIGNE	DRUMMOND'S "SONG"	DRUMMOND
14. *Essais,* I, XIX. La mort est origine d'une autre vie: ainsi pleurasmes nous et ainsi nous cousta-il d'entrer en cette-cy, ainsi despouillasmes nous de nostre ancien voile en y entrant. — i. 126–127.	14. p. 13. We are not made for Earth, though here we come, More than the Embryo for the Mother's Womb: It weeps to be made free, and we complain To leave this loathsome Jaile of Care and Pain.	14. p. 125. For, though he be born on the Earth, he is not born for the Earth, more than the Embryo for the Mother's Womb. It complaineth to be delivered of its Bands, and to come to the Light of this World; and Man bewaileth to be loosed from the chains with which he is fettered in that Valley of Vanities.
15. *Essais,* I, XIX. Et, au pis aller, la distribution et varieté de tous les actes de ma comedie se parfournit en un an. . . . Il a joué son jeu, il n'y sçait autre finesse que de recommencer. — i. 128–129.		15. p. 126. Every one cometh there to act his Part of this Tragi-Comedy, called Life, which done, the Curtain is drawn, and he removing is said to dy.

VII. MONTAIGNE AND BURTON. "FORCE OF IMAGINATION"

Florio's Montaigne (Tudor Translations)	Burton, "Anatomy of Melancholy" (Ed. Shileto, 1893)
1. Florio, i. 91. Wee sweat, we shake, we grow pale, and we blush at the motions of our imaginations; and wallowing in our beds we feele our bodies agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions; yea in such manner, as sometimes we are ready to yeeld up the spirit.	1. Burton, i. 291. This we see verified in sleepers, which, by reason of humours, and concourse of vapours troubling the phantasy, imagine many times absurd and prodigious things, and in such as are troubled with incubus, or witch-ridden (as we call it).
2. Florio, i. 92. And Celsus reports of a Priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained void of all respiration and sense.	2. Burton, i. 292. . . . as that priest whom Celsus speaks of, that could separate himself from his senses when he list and lie like a dead man, void of life and sense.
3. Florio, i. 100. So it is, that by experience wee see women to transferre divers markes of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes; witnes she that brought forth a Blacke-a-more.	3. Burton, i. 293. Persina, that Æthiopian Queene in Heliodorus, by seeing the picture of Perseus and Andromeda, instead of a blackmoor, was brought to bed of a faire white child.
4. Florio, i. 92. Some will not sticke to ascribe the scarres of King Dagobert, or the cicatrices of Saint Francis unto the power of Imagination.	4. Burton, i. 293. Dagobertus' and Saint Francis' scars and wounds, like to those of Christ's (if at the least any such were) Agrippa supposeth to have happened by force of imagination.
5. Florio, i. 90. (Describes same thing in Montaigne's own case, especially in regard to coughing.) i. 93. (Swooning sickness imparted by imagination.)	5. Burton, i. 294. Men if they see but another man tremble, giddy or sick of some fearful disease, their apprehension and fear is so strong in this kind, that they will have the same disease.

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Alfred Horatio Upham was born March 2, 1877, at Eaton, Ohio. His education, begun in the public schools of that village, was continued at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, from which he received the degree A.B. in 1897 and A.M. in 1898. During the years 1897–1900 he was employed as Instructor in Latin and Greek in the same institution. Two years were then spent in graduate study at Harvard University, where he received the Master's degree in 1901. From 1902 to 1905 he was Professor of English in the Agricultural College of Utah. In 1905–1906 he was University Fellow in Comparative Literature at Columbia University, undertaking then the studies that have resulted in this dissertation. Since that time he has been Professor of English at Miami University.

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